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THE ISLAND OF ROSES AND
HER ELEVEN SISTERS
OR
THE DODECANESE

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THE ISLAND OF ROSES AND HER ELEVEN SISTERS

OR, THE DODECANESE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIME DOWN TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

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AND MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

186961.

22.1.24.

"The isles of Greece, the isles of Greece!
Where burning Sappho lov'd and sung,
Where grew the arts of war and peace,
Where Delos rose and Phœbus sprung!
Eternal summer gilds them yet . . ."

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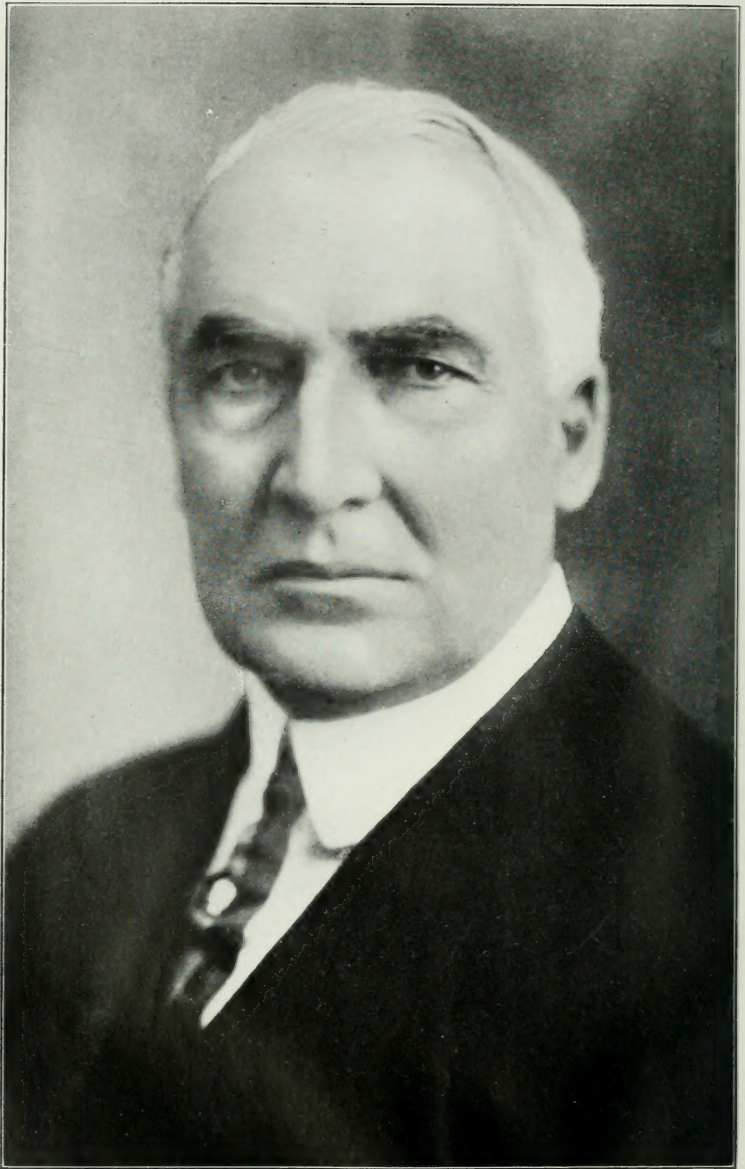
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WARREN G. HARDING
President of the United States of America

TO
HIS EXCELLENCY
WARREN G. HARDING

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AS A SMALL TOKEN OF PROFOUND GRATITUDE
FOR THE NOTEWORTHY SYMPATHY HE HAS SHOWN IN REGARD
TO THE EMANCIPATION OF THE UNREDEEMED GREEKS

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED
ON BEHALF OF THE DODECANESIANS
BY THE AUTHOR

Oct. 24, 1920.

M. NICHOLAS CULOLIAS,

President Greek Republican Club of Massachusetts, Steinert Hall, 165, Boylston-street. To be delivered at 7.30 Sunday night, Oct. 24, Boston, Mass.

"M. Constantine C. Moustakis, whom I am happy to be entertaining as my guest to-day, has told me of the great meeting you are holding this evening. Please convey to your members the assurance of my deep sympathy with the Greek nation in its now approaching realisation of ancient aspirations for restoration to the high place it has held in the world. Western civilisation has for twenty centuries acknowledged its debt to Greece, and none who knows of the obligation can fail to sympathise deeply with your great race in its ambition to resume the full measure of its potential service to the world. You may be assured that to do my just part to further the righteous cause of the Greek nation and of the splendid element of citizenship it has contributed to our country, I will continue to help in every possible way, as I have done in the Senate in the last two years. I voted for the Lodge resolution, declaring the sense of the Senate that Northern Epirus, including Korytza, the Twelve Islands, and the western coast of Asia Minor, should go to Greece. Likewise I voted for the resolution expressing the Senate's judgment * that Thrace should be incorporated in the Kingdom of Greece. I stand for a settlement which will do full justice to the Greek people. America will always do its full and humane part in the world while insisting that it be directed by its own conscience and its own conception of right and justice. In the community of nations for promoting peace with justice and right, and for healing a grievously wounded world, our country will always be found at the front.

"WARREN G. HARDING."

* Here is the Senatorial resolution referred to in the above document :

"Resolved, that it is the sense of the Senate that Northern Epirus (including Korytza), the Twelve Islands of the Aegean, and the Western coast of Asia Minor, where a strong Greek population predominates, should be awarded by the Peace Conference to Greece, and become incorporated in the Kingdom of Greece." Congressional Record, 66th Congress, Second Session, Vol. 59, No. 137, page 7735, Washington, May 17, 1920.

PREFACE

ON the termination of the Great War I was chosen by my fellow-countrymen of the Dodecanese to represent them at the Peace Conference at Paris, and it was in pursuit of my duties as a delegate that I came to reside for some time in France and, afterwards, in England. In the course of my stay I have had occasion to publish several minor works, in French and in English, on the subject of the twelve Ægean Islands, and at the same time I have had a unique opportunity for gathering material for a more ambitious work on the history of this group. Being a student of history, I felt that I could not employ my time to greater advantage than by writing a book about a region that has played so interesting and important a part in the history of civilisation. I was the more incited to do this by the fact that no such work has hitherto existed, and because, although there are in circulation a few books that deal with one or two of the islands, the subject is dealt with inadequately, and the information given is mostly obsolete and insufficient in view of the great results obtained in recent years from modern researches.

In order to make this work as complete and reliable as possible, I have sifted and carefully examined the ancient and modern authors who wrote on the subject, as well as the inscriptions and coins unearthed, and the most valuable mediæval and modern works which deal with Greek life and civilisation before and since the Homeric era, not neglecting the period of the Knights

and onwards. From some of these authors I have occasionally quoted, so that they might speak in their own way and bring into the book the atmosphere of the culture peculiar to their days.

This arduous study I have carried out in the archives of the public libraries of London, Oxford, Paris and Athens, as well as in private libraries, collections and museums. In addition, I have obtained many facts from the examination of official despatches, memorials, decrees, plebiscites and other documents, and not rarely from conversation with leading lights of the day, as well as from correspondence with those living persons who are recognised as authorities on the subject; amongst the latter I must mention my very esteemed friend Mr. Demosthenes Chaviaras of Symi, from whom I have received much interesting and valuable information.

But in view of the immense amount of details and data accumulated for the writing of this book it was necessary to condense it, otherwise it would have developed into a voluminous work.

In order to give my English readers the history of the Twelve Islands and the colour of their civilisation in a short but accurate form, I have thought it necessary to be briefer in some parts of the book than in others. For instance, leading events, such as the sieges of Rhodes, which have much bearing on its history and reveal the character of the people, have been made more prominent in these pages than have other less important matters. But those students who wish to go further into the subject will find fuller details and ampler information in the version of this book which I am now preparing in Greek.

In the course of my investigations I have been at considerable pains to clear up those points about which there has been a difference of opinion between historical

authorities, or about which we have had until now but feeble and somewhat fitful light. In such instances it was found necessary to come to a decision on certain existing probabilities and to state impartially what appeared most likely to be the truth, and only on very rare occasions have I felt myself justified in criticising and briefly refuting an opinion expressed, or in reproducing the existing differences between the writers on the subject.

In writing this book I can say, in general, that always I have borne in mind the aphorism of Bacon, that a man should gather all possible information about a subject in debate and then theorise with modesty. But I have not only tried to discriminate between those facts which were true and those which were not, I have also attempted to the best of my ability to introduce life and colour into the book. I cherish the hope that my searches and efforts to find the truth and to describe it may have some little value in the eyes of my readers, and may be enlightening to all those who are interested to know more of the evolution of Hellenic civilisation and public life.

It is needless to add that, had I introduced a complete list of references and footnotes into the book for confirming the historical statements, the work might have been extended to any length. Therefore I have confined myself to a small and essential number of them.

I now take the opportunity to express my heartfelt gratitude to my numerous English friends and literary colleagues for the encouragement they have given me whilst occupied with this study during my sojourn in England. But most especially I must thank Professors J. L. Myres and R. M. Dawkins, to whom the Dodecanese is so familiar, for their very keen interest in the subject, and the former particularly for his learned

and masterly introduction. To His Excellency J. Gennadius and to Professor Hubert Pernot of the Sorbonne I have also special reasons to be grateful for kindly placing their libraries at my disposal.

I also owe grateful thanks to the British people for the whole-hearted support and sympathy it has extended to my country during her long struggle for freedom and complete independence.

Likewise I express my warm acknowledgments and thanks to my dear friend, Mr. Neville D. Petrides, for the very valuable help he has given me in preparing this book for the press. Of the illustrations published in the book, some have been courteously sent to me by friends in the Dodecanese and a few others have been reproduced from books, as stated in each case. I beg hereby to express my best thanks to the contributors and to the owners of the copyright.

Before concluding these lines I have to thank my fellow-countrymen in London and elsewhere, who, faithful to the feelings and aspirations of the Dodecanese, encouraged me to carry this book through to completion.

It has also been owing to the unanimous request of these valued friends and other fellow-countrymen that I have dedicated this book to President Harding, who has earned the deeply felt gratitude of all Greeks, and prominently that of the Dodecanesians, for his benevolent attitude both in the Senate and in his public and private pronouncements elsewhere, conspicuous amongst which is his letter published recently in the *Daily Telegraph*, which it gives me much pleasure to reproduce in this book.

MICHAEL D. VOLONAKIS.

LONDON,

November, 1921.

INTRODUCTION

TO MANY FRIENDS IN THE TWELVE ISLANDS, AND TO ALL
LOVERS OF FAIR COUNTRY AND FREE PEOPLE

IT is no small privilege to be asked to express, in a few words of introduction to this book, something of the associations, the memories, and (may I add) the emotions, which are recalled by its title. Long acquaintance, however intermitted, and more recent opportunity of co-operation in a great cause, may entitle even a stranger to feel himself in a sense "at home" in Dodecanese; and to commend an account of its islands and their people to those who have been less fortunate. But if he has any such privilege, it is due to no act, or luck, of his; but to many acquaintances, in every degree, and still more to those intimate friends whose experience, learning and goodwill have made their country and fellow-countrymen known and appreciated as they deserve. For it is not to one whom he is content to regard as a stranger, that a chance boatman engaged to bring him to another island will say, as he steps on board, *θὰ παµε σ'τὴ πατρίδα*; "*Are we bound for home?*"

It is to that boatman—if these words reach him—and to all who, like him, grasped the goodwill behind the foreign accent and (I fear) incorrigible ways of the wanderer from another island-world, and made him in ancestral custom *ξένον καὶ ἰσοπολίτην*, "at home" among themselves, that this tribute of recognition comes.

The chain of small islands which lies along the shore of Asia Minor, from Samos to Rhodes, gives a peculiar quality to the section of its coastline, and has at all times modified its history, in relation either to its own continental interior or to the rest of the *Ægean* Archipelago. As the traveller from the south-east rounds the Seven Capes, or sets sail from Castellorizo for an *Ægean* port, the stately profile of Rhodes, which rises before him, stands firmly contrasted with the jagged *Alupo* promontory south of *Marmarice*, no less than with the fenland of the *Dalaman* estuary, which fringes the nearer mainland; and passing Rhodes, at once we are in *Ægean* waters and Greek lands. Seaward, from Rhodes itself, through *Chalki*, *Telos* and *Nisyros* to the “*Kephala*” of *Kos*, an island-screen breaks the greater swell of the *Mediterranean*, and intercepts the first moisture of its breezes. Landward, we are under the bare cliffs of mainland *Loryma*, then of *Syme*, austere island of all, then of the *Knidian Peninsula*, so nearly severed from the Continent by nature and its Greek defenders, that, as the story goes, “*Zeus* would have made it island, had he willed.” And beyond *Knidos* on its island rock, which those same Greeks willed to make peninsular—and achieved it—stretches the same alternation of promontories and island-chain, *Kos*, *Kalymnos* and *Leros*, opening out one behind the other; *Lipsos* and *Arki* subsiding into reefs and fishing-grounds in face of *Samos*, which is already in another world; *Patmos*, with its gleaming monastery set like a pearl in jade, far out to the north-west; and inshore islets low-lying in the fairway, as if uncertain still whether they are of the island-world or of the great East.

Approached from the north, no less, the contrast between the “*Twelve Islands*,” as they lie one behind

the other in infinite variety of form and colour, and the "little continents" formed by their giant sisters, Samos, Chios and Lesbos, is an ever-fresh surprise. Furni alone, standing on the border-line between northern and southern waters, stretches its long brown fingers impartially and pathetically towards the averted shoulder of Samos, to Nikaria's irresponsive frontage, and to the loosely articulated outlines of the nearest among the twelve.

Thus defined by contrast with their northern neighbours, no less than with that *οἶδμα θαλάσσης*, the neighbourless waste of the Levant, the "Twelve Islands" form a little world of their own. From the greater regions of Asia Minor, and from the wider politics of its continental life, they are secluded by natural obstacles as effectively as the larger northern islands are involved in its tangled history by their proximity to its great western valleys. Leros alone, at intervals, has had more intimate connection with Miletos and the Mæander avenue. Even Rhodes owed little to the gorges (rather than valleys) which intersect the rude background of what was once its mainland domain; and, in so far as it benefited from those possessions, did so rather as from a self-contained estate than a corridor into other regions.

This seclusion from the stresses and ambitions of the mainland, and their separation, almost as emphatic, from those of the main island-world of the Ægean, have been dominant factors in the history of these islands always, and have given their people a local character, self-contained and self-reliant, a little detached, even, from all but the largest interests of their compatriots, and at times candidly critical of "the men of over-there." This insularity has been compatible, however, on great

occasions, such as the National Movement of 1821, with whole-hearted adherence to the general cause; with distinguished services on the part of communities and individuals; with fortitude in stern adversity, and patience (born of confidence) in long and bitter disappointment.

It is qualified, no less, by strong contrasts of habit and temperament between the men of each island of the group. The sponge-fishers of Kalymnos differ from those of Symi in mental outlook, and even in build and deportment, no less than their respective vessels do, in rig and the lines of their hulls. Among the more agricultural islands, the man of Kos is as distinct from the Rhodian as the Leriote from the inhabitant of Nisyros; or the Patmian from the Karpathiote, among the deep-sea sailor-folk. It is possible, even easy, to have preferences; for their own proverb—"to every man his own island"—is as applicable to the stranger within their gates as to the islanders themselves. Few, however, who know them can fail to recognise the finer qualities and the coherent harmony of each with its home-setting, of the types among whom they may have felt less "at home." And the diversity itself, at such close range, is worthy of remark and reflection.

It is a curious accident that the term "Dodecanese," applied to these twelve islands by modern politicians, does not seem to have belonged to them originally, but to the Cyclades in the central archipelago; and it is one of the principal services of Mr. Volonakis to the history of his compatriots that he has made this fact clear. But the name, once applied, has stuck; and it may be that the fortuitous discovery of a common term for the whole group has contributed something, formally, if not in substance, to the solidarity which they have cherished so long. There was a time, as Thucydides

knew, when “there were as yet no Hellenes, because there were as yet no Barbarians” to contrast with them; and certainly the “Question of the Dodecanese” assumed more definite and more practical shape from the moment that there was this “Dodecanese,” about which there could be such a question.

What Mr. Volonakis has attempted in this book is in the first place to summarise—and in important matters to restate more amply—the historical record of this cluster of islands; and this is in itself some service, at a time when close scholarly acquaintance with ancient literature is less widely found than formerly, while intelligent interest in its substance and meaning for our own world grows and spreads so rapidly. Further, he has been especially careful to present in its proper setting the substance of the numerous inscriptions which have been brought to light, largely through local antiquaries, during the last two generations; a valuable supplement to the literary authorities. For the most part he has been content to let his predecessors tell their own story, as nearly as may be, in their own way. Only where explanation or commentary seemed to be needed—as it may easily be even by a classical scholar without special knowledge of the district—he has contributed his own wide experience of Greek lands and intimate knowledge of his compatriots.

Next, without attempting to cover fields of archæology and popular tradition, so ably represented, for example, by Mr. Chaviaras of Symi, and those less-known students of antiquity and custom who are at work quietly and carefully in almost every island, he has presented some main features of the local habits and beliefs which seem to him noteworthy. It is easy for others to wish that this part of his book had been longer; more difficult,

probably, for a writer himself to decide what must be omitted so as to leave his outline clear and complete in essentials.

In particular, he has done a real service by calling attention, almost for the first time, to those elements of political continuity with the ancient "city state" which are to be traced in the local constitutions of these islands at the present day. Unmodified in any vital point by Italian military administration, and guaranteed by initial proclamation of the Italian Government when these islands were occupied during its Turkish War; undamaged by Turkish misrule during the nineteenth century, and guaranteed already by Suleiman the Magnificent in 1522, in a formal act of liberation from overlordship of the Knights of Rhodes; traditional already when those Knights imposed their protectorate; and conforming in their structure and political traditions not only with the municipalised administration common to Greek communities under Roman rule, but with the normal practice of autonomous cities in the Hellenistic age, these little communities would appear to have a longer political pedigree of continuous corporate life than any but a few similar survivals, at Castellorizo for example, and some other islands of the archipelago; so that it is possible here to watch, in their daily functions, the actual working of a Greek "city state," with its intense local patriotism, its direct participation of the citizen-body in political affairs, its annually elected executive, its keen party feuds, and all the risks, no less than the benefits, which historians are wont to describe to this type of constitution.

And what is illustrated by their political arrangements is true, in the main, of other aspects of this island régime. In society, in economic structure, in their

habitual over-population—and the colonial enterprises to which over-population drives them, to create, in that old Greek meaning of ἀποικία, a “*home from home*” in Florida at Tarpon Springs, in the Argentine, in Australia, as well as in the Nearer East, and in nineteenth-century Russia—there is close resemblance, allowing for easily intelligible changes, between the islanders of modern Dodecanese and their older selves. They have a heritage of tradition and precedent such as falls to very few societies; they have a little *kosmos* here, a world of their own, which under happy conditions it is theirs to enjoy, and whose enjoyment even in adversity has been their solace and inspiration. They can feel themselves to be partners in a larger fate, without losing the resource of loyalties so local as to be within the range of the least ardent imagination; and if they achieve in a new age the fulness of their indomitable hopes, they have ancient memories and present experience, adequate, if they realise and apply them, to ensure their welfare in the time to come.

“Ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν, ξενίῃ τε τράπεζα, . . .
ἧ μὲν τοι τάδε πάντα τελείεται ὥς ἀγορεύω.”

JOHN L. MYRES

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CORRIGENDA

- P. 10, l. 17. *For* 591 *read* 59.
- P. 100, l. 14. *For* with five harbours *read* with three or, according to some writers, five harbours.
- P. 142, l. 13. *For* Hipparch *read* Hipparchos.
- P. 220, footnote. *For* Moariah *read* Moaviah.
- P. 236, one line from the bottom. *For* Cos and Leros, was *read* and Cos and Leros were.
- P. 329, l. 9. *For* Appollon *read* Apollo.
- P. 416, l. 26. *For* Birkirt *read* Burkitt.
- „ l. 34. *For* Borrows *read* Burrows.
- P. 417, l. 26. *For* Collingnon *read* Collignon.

THE ISLAND OF ROSES AND HER ELEVEN SISTERS

PART I

GENERAL OUTLINE

CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHY

The Dodecanese Group. The Dodecanese is composed of a group of islands and islets, which, lying in the blue waters of the Ægean Sea and smiling under an almost eternal blue sky, are not far from the celestial regions of the south-west coasts of Asia Minor.

The most important and largest islands of this group are the following :—

Astypalaia, Calymnos, Carpathos, Casos, Chalki, Cos, Leros, Nisyros, Patmos, Rhodes, Symi, Telos, twelve in number, which explains the Greek name of the Dodecanese, derived from two Greek words, *dodeca* (twelve) and *nesos* (island).¹

Almost all these islands are eulogised by the immortal Homer, in his own inimitable way, whilst Strabo, Diodoros Siculus, Pliny and many other ancient and modern authors, in more prosaic manner, tell us of their ancient glory and colour.

What the poet says of these islands we reserve

¹ Δώδεκα—νησος.

for that part of this book which is devoted to the subject of their participation in the Trojan War. Of the other writers we shall confine ourselves, both here and elsewhere, to those whose writings are older and more valuable for our purpose.

The island of Rhodes. About Rhodes the legend exists that she rose suddenly from the depths of the sea under picturesque circumstances. Zeus divided the earth between the immortals, and gave to each of them the portion allotted to him. But Helios (Apollo) was absent from Olympus at that time, and he was therefore forgotten and left without any allotment of land. When Helios returned, the oversight was observed, and Zeus wished to make a new distribution. The Sun-god, however, rejected the proposal and begged the son of Cronos to grant that land which he beheld glistening within the waters of the briny deep and arising from the depths below, and which would be rich in food for many men and kindly to flocks. Zeus agreed, and the other gods joined with him in a solemn oath that the island born of the sea should be Helios' realm.¹

Thus the sunny Rhodes rose into sight and stood forth over the blue Ægean Sea by the dawn, in the early morning light, and thus also we have in brief the secret of the origin of the island by a submarine upheaval ² due to a local earthquake.

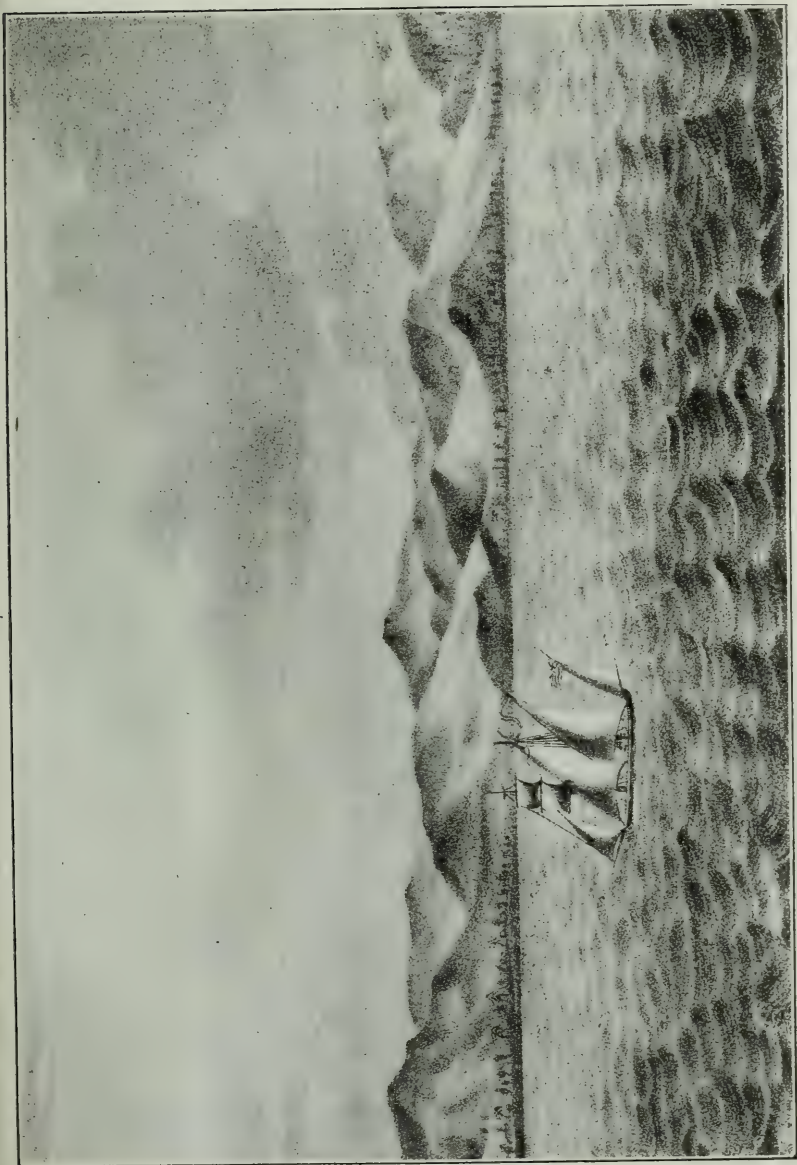
Another interesting legend tells us that the name of the island was derived from Rhodos,³ the daughter of Neptune and Halia, whom Helios loved and who bore him seven sons, the Heliadai.

But the poetical name of the island comes from the Greek word *rhodon* (rose), because this delightful

¹ Pindar, *Olymp.* VII. 55-71.

² Theophrastos, *Fragm.* XXX. 3 ff.

³ Diodor. V. 55, 4. 56, 3. Apollodoros gives the name as Rhodē (1, 4, 6).



[*Rotliers.*

THE MOUNTAIN-CHAIN OF RHODES
(From an old picture)

flower flourishes in abundance on it and its scent could be perceived by the navigators though they were still far away at sea,¹ and this derivation of the term seems very reasonable for the island, which is really a rose set amongst all the other neighbouring islands. Some authorities² claim, though we think it unlikely, that the name came from the flower of the pomegranate (*ῥοιὰ*), as it is believed that this was one of the first trees which found birth on the island when it emerged from the sea, and that the beauty of its flower and the excellence of its fruit struck with wonder and admiration those who colonised the land.

A legion of ancient writers, as also many more modern, write of the original names attaching to Rhodes, and we could fill volumes if we would give details of the sayings of all these. We therefore confine ourselves to a few of the eminent authors.

Thus Pliny³ states that the island was formerly called Ophiussa,⁴ Asteria,⁵ Aethria,⁶ Trinacrie,⁷ Corymbia,⁸ Poeessa,⁹ Atabyria,¹⁰ from the name of one of its kings, and in later times Macaria¹¹ and Oloessa.¹²

¹ Head, *Hist. num.* p. 635; *Babelon*, I. pp. 461 and 1014.

² Guérin, *Rhodes*, p. 62. Also see Biliotti and Cottret, *L'île de Rhodes*, p. 10.

³ *Hist. Natur.* V. 36.

⁴ Because it was the home of serpents. See also Steph. of Byzant. p. 243.

⁵ This name, which was likewise a former name of Delos, came either from the name of a king called Asterios, or because it resembled a star emitting rays of beauty, or because of its being a constellation rising above the horizon of the sea.

⁶ Because of the clearness and serenity of its atmosphere.

⁷ Because of the triangular form, like Sicily, which had the same designation. See also Steph. of Byzant. *Ibid.*

⁸ Either owing to its elevated position, or for its fecundity in ivy, but not for the crowning of victorious athletes, as is assumed by Biliotti, which would be an obvious anachronism, as the Olympic games had not already begun at the time when Rhodes is supposed to have been thus named.

⁹ From its green and productive soil.

¹⁰ Either from a king, known to Pliny, or from the mountain Atabyros, or from the Atabyrios Zeus.

¹¹ Because of its blessed prosperity, a term applied likewise to Cyprus, Lesbos and Chios. (Diodor. Sic. V. 57.)

¹² Noxious, on account of the destructive character of the serpents with which it was infested.

To these Strabo ¹ adds two further names, Stadia ² and Telchinis,³ and Am. Marcellinus ⁴ gives still another, Pelagia.⁵

Dapper ⁶ and others ⁷ try to interpret the meaning of each of these names, as we also have attempted to do, and of the elucidations given the most curious is the one which Dapper and Guérin produce. They say that the name of Rhodes was originally a union of two Phœnician words, *gesirath* and *rod*, of which the first means island and the second serpent. In accordance with this statement the words embrace the meaning of the Greek word *Ophiussa*, which implies an island full of serpents, a term which also was given to Cyprus, and recalls the other name Oloessa, which means pernicious, on account of the great injury done by the serpents to the human beings. Of all these names that of Rhodes (Rhodos) has prevailed amongst the various peoples even to our day.

Rhodes, the most easterly and the largest of the twelve islands, lies in the Carpathian Sea in latitude 36° 26' N., and in longitude 28° 16' E. Its form is slightly oval, and it is 43 ⁸ English miles in length and 20 ⁹ in width. According to the ancient geographers the first meridian passed through Rhodes, and Strabo even adds, but not very accurately, that Byzantium, Alex-

¹ XIV. 6.

² Though the philologist Meineke held the view that this name was a corruption of Asteria, there is an explanation of this term which is due to its Phœnician origin from the word *tsadia*, which means devastated and recalls the serpents' destruction of human life. Rather amusing is the other explanation, which tries to account for the term as due to the shape of the island, which they say resembles an ancient stadium; whoever reads Strabo (XIV. 6) must see that it is an evident anachronism.

³ From the Telchines, who inhabited the island.

⁴ XVII. 7.

⁵ It is associated with the legend of the rising of Rhodes from the depths of the open sea (*pelagos*).

⁶ *Descr. de l'Archip.* pp. 88-89.

⁷ Guérin, *Rhodes*, pp. 58 f., Biliotti and Cottret, *l'Île de Rhodes*, pp. 9-10.

⁸ Torr wrongly gives it 49.

⁹ Torr wrongly gives it 21.



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THE CITY OF RHODES
(Different points)



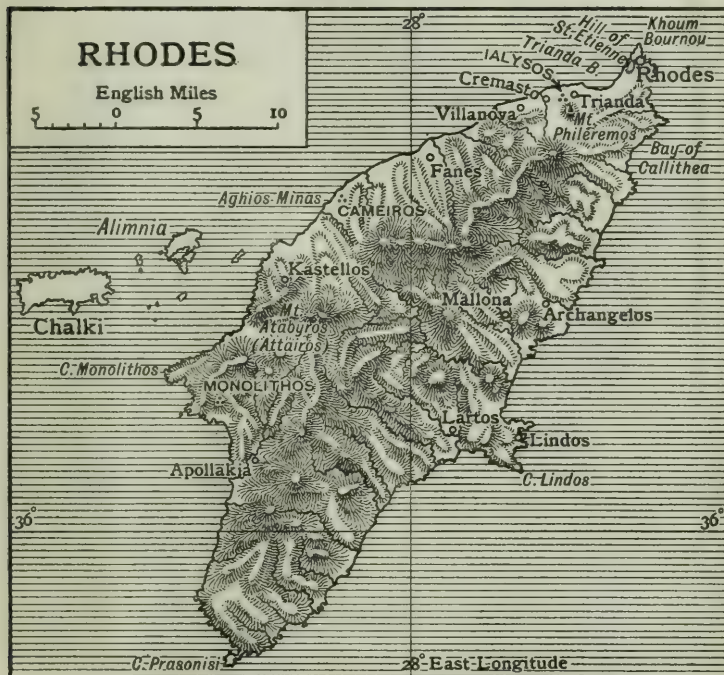
By courtesy of Mark C. Voyages.

PANORAMIC VIEWS OF THE CITY OF RHODES
(Taken from two different points)

Amateur.

andria and Rhodes were upon the same meridian, and gives the island's circumference as 920 stadia.¹

Pliny,² who characterises the free island of Rhodes as the fairest of those in the Carpathian Sea, gives its circumference as 125 miles, and alternatively he offers another measurement by Isidoros, 103 miles. He also



Emery Walker Ltd. sc.

writes that it is 583 miles distant from Alexandria in Egypt, according to Isidoros, but according to Eratosthenes 468 miles, and according to Mucianus its distance from Cyprus is 176 miles.

Modern measurement gives its area as 565 sq. miles or approximately 1460 sq. kilom. The island has a chain of mountains running lengthwise, the ancient Atabyros (Attayros), which was sacred to Zeus, and from

¹ One stadion is nearly equivalent to an English furlong.

² V. 36.

whence a magnificent view can be obtained, as it is the highest point (4070 feet) of the island.

The linguist, Professor Fick, writing on the origin of this mountain, points out the similarity between it and Mount Tabor in Galilee, which Josephus calls Itabyrion and Polybios Atabyrion, both of which names he finds of Hittite derivation.¹ Another German writer, Beloch, supported the view that the name of Atabyrion came from Taba (rock) and was Carian. When we recall the words of Sir Arthur Evans, who wrote "the once Carian Rhodes," perhaps the statement of Beloch appears the more probable.

The three old cities of Rhodes. Pindar² calls Rhodes the isle of the three cities (*tripolis*), having in mind its three renowned and independent towns, Cameiros, Ialysos and Lindos, which Homer immortalised in his verses,³ and Thucydides and others often mention.

Those cities, where excavations were made during the latter half of the last century, and were continued at Lindos in the first years of this century, have revealed a high state of civilisation and great artistic wealth, which enable an observer to form an opinion of the power and prosperity which Rhodes commanded even in its remotest past.

Of these cities, the first two were the most ancient and lay on the western side of the island and opposite to the peninsula of Cnidos, whilst Lindos lay on the eastern side facing Cyprus and Egypt. Strabo,⁴ writing of the latter, which still exists and retains its name, states that a celebrated temple of the Lindian Athena stood there. And indeed the worship of this deity, which had prevailed here from earliest times, is connected with

¹ Cook, *Zeus*, p. 642.

² *Olymp.* VII. 18.

³ *Iliad*, II. 652 f.

⁴ XIV. 2, 11. See also Steph. of Byzant. p. 185.



VILLAGE AND CASTLE OF LINDOS (RHODES)

one of the most fascinating mythological tales of Rhodes, for it was at Lindos, after Athena had sprung from the brain of Zeus, that the people, overjoyed at the news, offered sacrifice. This so pleased Zeus that he poured gold on them from lowering clouds, and Athena gave them the power of mastery over the arts of man. This was a striking augury for the wealthy and prosperous future of the island about which the great poet ¹ sings and Pindar ² lyricises, and of the widespread extension of its influence by commerce, seamanship and policy.

A temple of Athena once adorned the summit of the acropolis of Lindos, a fact which is established by inscriptions recently found there, as also by the following epigram :—³

“ On the summit of the citadel of Lindos thou art, O Athena, the glory of this ancient city . . . ”

One fruit of the labour expended on these recent excavations by the Danish mission is the discovery of the chronicle of the Lindian temple published by Chr. Blinkenberg (1912).

Not far from the small city of Lindos there is a very ancient fountain, which retains the old Dorian name of *Krana* (source). No one has given a notice or description of this singular spot until now, but my esteemed friend Mr. Chaviaras, who has visited it, tells me that it resembles the aqueduct of Eupalinos at Samos, and that the form of the running rivulet with its tributaries appears like a prostrate cypress-tree.

Ialysos at a period of great antiquity appears to have been an important town surrounded by imposing walls and protected by a formidable citadel; it had also a harbour.

¹ *Iliad*, II. 668.

² *Olymp.* VII. 48 ff.

³ *Anthol. Gr.* XV. 11.

At the time of Strabo it was a simple village standing on the lower slope of the mountain named Phileremos or Philermos; it also had its acropolis named *ochyroma*, which means fortification, though its older name appears to have been Achaia, as is convincingly shown by the clever investigator Biliotti.¹

Neither the name nor the city can be traced on the spot, but a relic of its early glory survives amongst the neighbouring peasants of Cremasto and Trianda, who still call it *Old Rhodes*.² This is a very appropriate name, because before the founding of the great city of Rhodes it was actually the capital of the island.

Cameiros,³ which Homer, owing to the nature of its strikingly white soil, calls *arginoeis* (chalky), was apparently thickly populated, prosperous and well known in the distant past. Its necropolis, which has been repeatedly examined by excavators, reveals most valuable discoveries, especially in pottery. It had also a harbour and an acropolis as well as a temple to Athena Telchinis. From the latter one learns that it was a very important commercial centre in times long since gone.

The local peasantry still point out a region near the promontory of Aghios Minas where they believe that Cameiros once stood.

The great city. *Rhodes*, the capital of the island, lay on its northern extremity and on the eastern promontory, and it was built⁴ by the inhabitants of the three most ancient cities above described, in the year 407 B.C.⁵ They gave it the name of the island and dedicated it to Helios, from whom they claimed descent.

This city, which rose under the best of auguries,

¹ *L'Île de Rhodes*, pp. 388 ff.

² Guérin, *Rhodes*, p. 325.

³ Steph. of Byzant. p. 155.

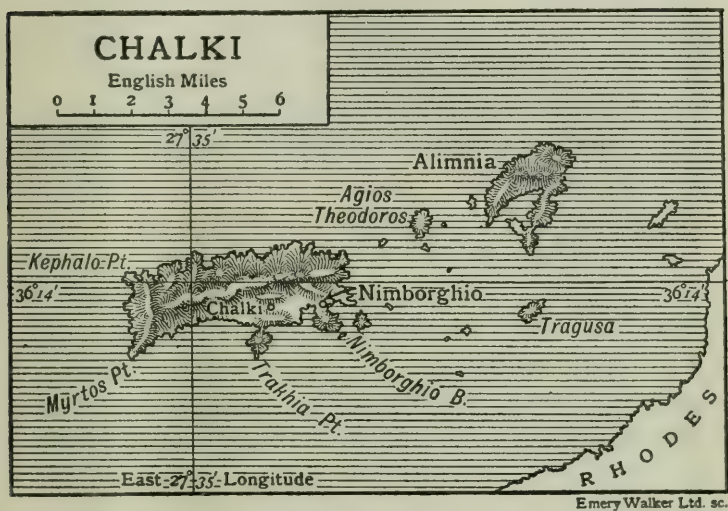
⁴ Strabo, XIV, 5.

⁵ A date accurately fixed by Blinkenberg.

has kept its name throughout the centuries, and, as we shall see, is a storehouse of reminiscences of a marvellous past and a focus of universal admiration.

Of its three ancient harbours, which served both the Byzantines and the Knights, only two now remain in use.

Chalki. (Lat. $36^{\circ} 14'$ N., Long. $27^{\circ} 35'$ E. Area 30 sq. kilom.) This small mountainous island lies near



to the western side of Rhodes and at a distance of 8 miles from Cameiros, and 35 from the city of Rhodes. Thucydides, Theophrastos and ancient inscriptions refer to it as Chalki, but Strabo and Pliny called it *Chalcia*.

Strabo¹ describes this island as 80 stadia distant from Telos, 400 from Carpathos and about double this distance from Astypalaia, and as having a settlement of the same name, a temple of Apollo and a harbour. Pliny confines himself to simply mentioning it,² but he is not always free from errors, and in later lines he speaks about the

¹ X. 5, 15.

² *Hist. Nat.* IV. 23, 71.

island of Chalki in such a way that it is evident that he mistook it for another island.¹

To-day Chalki bears this name, and its capital is called Nimborghio, where is to be found a good but small harbour. Its old capital, with many traces of its ancient Greek acropolis and other important remains, still exists under the name of Chorion (village), and it is inhabited by a few people, and is still situated about an hour's walk from the port. Like other instances of the same kind elsewhere in the Dodecanese, it reminds us of the days when the inhabitants built their homes away from the sea on account of the repeated piratical raids. Among the traces noticeable is a double throne cut in the rock and bearing on the front an inscription revealing the names of Zeus and Hecate.²

Telos. (Lat. $36^{\circ} 25'$ N., Long. $27^{\circ} 25'$ E. Area 591.2 sq. kilom.) It is a small island lying 22 miles N.W. of Rhodes. Strabo, writing about it, tells us that Telos is long, high and narrow, being about 140 stadia in circumference, with a shelter for vessels, and that it extends along the Cnidian territory.³ Pliny⁴ also speaks of this island, and placing it amongst the Sporades, states that it was noted for its unguents, and that by Callimachos it was called Agathussa. Even to-day one unguent made there from sage is highly reputed amongst the neighbouring islands. But here again Pliny is at fault, because the unguent had its name from the plant called *τήλις* by the ancient Greeks, and not from the island of Telos. He apparently mistook the word *Telinum* (*τήλινον*) for *Telium* (*τήλιον*).

As we learn from Hesychios and Stephanos of Byzantium,⁵ Agathussa was in fact the earliest name

¹ *Hist. Nat.* V. 36.

² Cook, *Zeus*, p. 141.

³ X. 5, 15.

⁴ *Hist. Nat.* IV. 23, 69.

⁵ Hesych. s. v.; Steph. of Byzant. p. 277; cf. Pliny, *ibid.*



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LEIVADIA: THE CAPITAL OF TELOS

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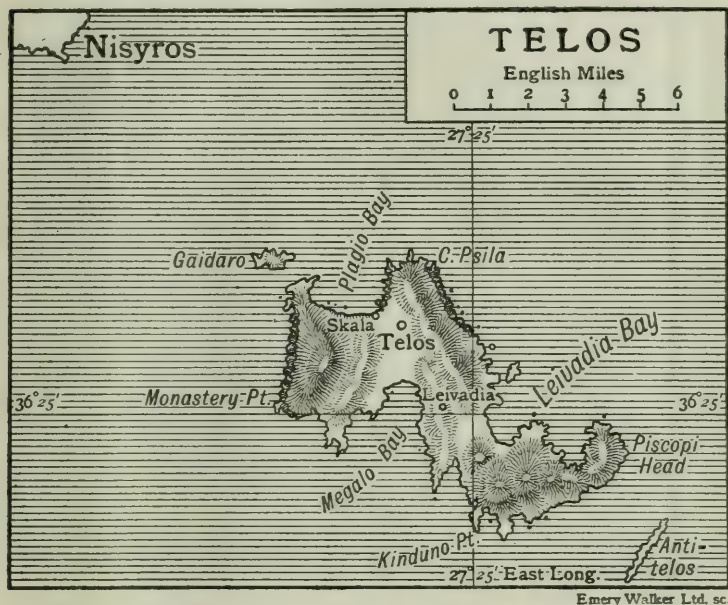


NIMBORGHIO: THE CAPITAL OF CHALKI

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of the island, and subsequently the name Telos was attached to it by a coloniser of that name.

During the days of the knights it was called Episcopia or Piscopia, not because it became an episcopate under the Metropolitan of Rhodes, for such a situation never existed, but because, as we gather, and as Coronelli¹ explains, it had watch-towers placed on the eminences



from which the observers of the knights could watch distant movements and report them by signal to the central watch-tower on Mount St. Etienne, which rises above the city of Rhodes. *Episcopi* here means a look-out. A similar watch-tower was also on the summit of a height in Symi, now named Stavros tou Polemou (cross of the war), as also in Leros. Buondelmonti,² in his naïveté, mentions also another name, Dilufanos

¹ *Isola di Rhodi*, p. 262.

² Buondelmonti, XVI. p. 75. He should evidently have written *τηλέφαντος* or *τηλεφανής* (appearing far off or far-seen).

(or Dilifanos), which he says is Greek *Δηλήφανος*, and gives the composition of Piscopia from the Greek words *epi* (above) and *scopos* (watcher), quasi-speculator, because, having high mountains, it is visible from very far off.

The island possesses three inhabited spots. Of these the larger is the place called Megalo Chorio (great village), built on the site of the ancient capital, of which some ruins of the acropolis and walls remain, as well as of its constructed harbour. The other place is named Micro Chorio (small village), not far from which, and on the N.E. of the island, is a large and deep bay, called Leivadia, at the entrance of which stands an islet. The port Leivadia is the capital of the island. In these localities ancient Greek inscriptions and ancient Rhodian vases have been found.

The English traveller, Randolph,¹ writing some centuries ago of this island, informs us that it is very pleasant, with orange and lemon trees bearing splendid fruit, and gives the staggering news that “there is a fountain in the place, wherein the waters weigh three ounces less in the pound than in any other island round about.”

Caverns abound in the island, and the ruins of the seven ancient castles offer much ground for research. But from many other points of view Telos is a field of scientific investigation and agricultural development.

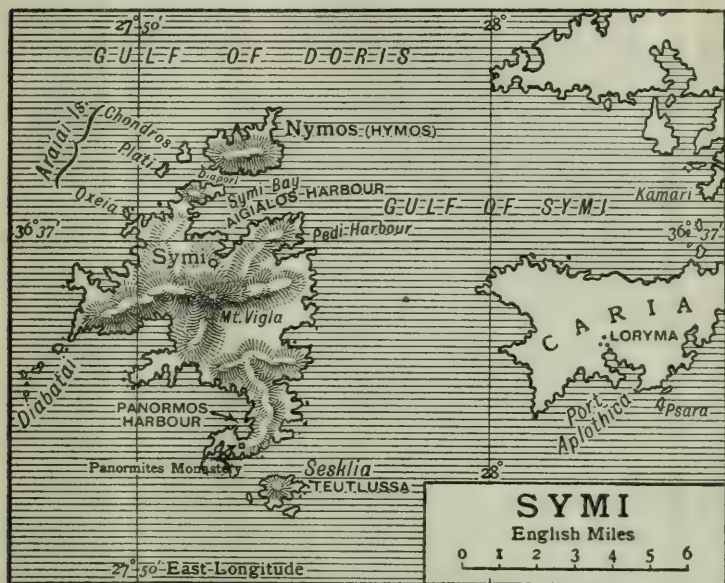
Symi. The island of Symi, resembling an irradiating star, was described by Rhottiers,² more than a century ago, as “surrounded on all sides by the azure sky and by the waves of the Carpathian Sea, as blue as the sky, and looking like a spot, suspended in the centre of the firmament.”

It has been prominent from very remote days, and

¹ Randolph, *The Present State . . .*, p. 24.

² *Descr. des Monum.* . . ., p. 21.

charming fables attach to its history, one of which gives a sacred character to the island, for it relates to the origin of man himself, and runs as a rival with the well-known tradition that the creation of man took place in Phocis, and that Prometheus was enchained on Caucasos for his audacity in loving man too much, and bringing fire from heaven to illumine benighted humanity.



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This legend appeared, it would seem, in the Middle Ages, and was put on foot by the inventive capacity of Christoph. Buondelmonti, writing about Symi, which he calls Simia, says: "Prometheus, the son of Iapetos, was forced to come to this island, where he revealed many means for the preservation of human life. He, being powerful in genius, created man from clay. On account of which, when Zeus heard of it, he transformed Prometheus into a *simia* (monkey) and retained him there to his death."

Thus the legendary transformation of Prometheus into a *simia* has been also considered the cause of the name of Simia, as the island was at that time called by the Italian sailors.

But there is also another mediæval and very naïve Italian version ¹ of the origin of the name of the island, which states that its appellation "*isola delle simi*" (isle of monkeys) was given to this island because of the many islets surrounding it, which in this respect resemble the Cyclades that encircle Delos.

But in reality, as likewise Lacroix finds, this name was an alteration of the Greek name Symi, which sounds like the Italian *simia*, or *scimia* (monkey).

The earliest name of Symi was *Metapontis*, and the second *Aiglē*, derived from the nymph Aigle, who gave birth to the three Graces, daughters of Apollo.²

According to Athenaios the name *Symi* arose from the daughter of Ialysos and Dotis called Symi. She was ravished by the sea-god Glaucos, a famous mariner and diver nicknamed Pontios, who bore her to the desert island near Caria and gave it the name of his wife.³

There is another legend in Diodoros which informs us that Chthonios, son of Neptune and of the nymph Symi, called the island after his mother.⁴

Homer also mentions Symi, and with the greatest enthusiasm eulogises her handsome king Nireus, as do all the succeeding Greek and Roman poets.

The great geographer, writing about Symi, states that it lies near to Loryma ⁵ (Aplothica).

There is a charming tradition amongst the people of Symi in relation to this Loryma. Let us hear it.

¹ Coronelli, *Isola di Rhodi*, p. 254.

² Prof. Berard states that the word is Semitic, and means brilliant, and that Αἴγλη is its Greek translation (*Les Phén. et l'Odys.* Vol. I. p. 340).

³ XIV. 71.

⁴ V. 53.

⁵ Strabo, XIV. 2, 15.



By cour

RAMIC VIEW O

[Faccioli.



By courtesy of D. N. Vourvika

PANORAMIC VIEW OF SYRI

(F. 10000)

A princess of Symi was in love with a prince of Loryma, but the latter died prematurely, before his marriage with the princess could be consummated. The princess took this great loss so much to heart that she died of grief, and on her death she was buried in that part of Symi which faces the country of her beloved. This place is now called "fields of the Cypriot," after the name of the owner; he was a shepherd who lived two centuries ago, having come from Cyprus and married a native of Symi.

Pliny, who places Symi amongst the islands of the Rhodians, writes, "This island is thirty-seven miles and a half in circumference, and welcomes us with eight fine harbours." ¹

Stephanos of Byzantium ² and Eustathios, the bishop of Thessalonica, ³ both notice the island as Carian and inform us that it had a city of the same name, that was previously called Metapontis and Aigle. The second author even points out its pugnacious partridges.

Pliny does not give us the names of the harbours of Symi, but it is reasonably suggested by my very well-informed friend, D. Chaviaras, that the names which most of them bear to-day are the same as those they had in antiquity. ⁴

Of these harbours the most noteworthy is Aigialos, on the N.E. of the island. It is the harbour of the capital and an excellent anchorage for large ships.

Here, in a valley, on a stretch of level ground called Campos, are the ship-yards, where the best sailing and rowing craft are constructed. It appears that the Symiots were conspicuous for shipbuilding from early times, and in this respect they have replaced

¹ *Hist. Nat.* V. 36. ² P. 263. ³ *Comment. ad. Hom. Iliad*, p. 258 (vers. 671).

⁴ Περιγραφή τῆς ἐν Πανόρμῳ ἱερᾶς Μονῆς, p. 13.

the Rhodians, whose dockyards were so famous in antiquity.

This industry at Symi caused the knights to favour the island and to get from that place their light canoes and boats, moved by oar or sail, whose speed was greater than that of any other boats. The rapid sailing galleys of Symi, called by the natives Skaphai, and by the Turks Symbequir, i. e. boat of Symi, and the larger ships, called frigates, were supreme in the Ægean waters until the arrival of the steamship, which, as elsewhere, altered everything. Pouqueville also notices that the Symiots sent some of their swift ships to the Provisional Greek Government during the War of Independence.

Next to the harbour of Aigialos is that of Panormos, on the S.W. shore, near which stands the venerable monastery of the Archangel Michael the Panormites. The port is almost circular in form and is surrounded by a fine chain of mountains.

The latitude of Symi is $36^{\circ} 37' N.$, its longitude $27^{\circ} 50' E.$, and its area 79 sq. kilom.

The island lies about 15 miles N.W. of Rhodes and outside the Gulf of Symi. Its length and width are about 6 miles each, with a circumference of 25 miles. It is mountainous and rocky, and its highest mountain, Vigla, divides it in two sections, northern and southern, the former of which is the lower and the more agricultural.

There are many bays, gulfs, promontories and harbours along its irregular coasts. It is surrounded, as we have seen above, by numerous islets which give a very picturesque appearance to its shores.

Of these islets the most conspicuous, being also mentioned by ancient writers, are Diabetai or Diabatai,¹ which Mr. Chaviaras² believes to be those otherwise

¹ Pliny, V. 36; Steph. of Byzant. p. 102.

² *Ibid.* p. 14.

named Araiai. But as in Athenaios¹ we find these described as lying between Cnidos and Symi, we prefer thinking that the Araiai are the islets Chondros, Plati and Oxeia. This name was the outcome of *arai* (curses) hurled by Periergos against Phorbas, who on account of these met with shipwreck there, when he was going from Cnidos to Ialysos. Besides these there are others named Hymos, which certainly is the Nymos of to-day, and Teutlussa, mentioned by Thucydides² in connection with the retreat of the Athenian fleet after its defeat by the Lacedæmonians off the coasts of Symi.

Pliny, noticing an islet as Teutlussa and as being one of those lying near Rhodes, doubtless means this islet, which to-day is called Sesklia,³ a pleasant spot belonging to the monastery of Panormites and containing all the charms of the Rhodian island, to which it forms the nearest part of Symi.

Hymos is separated from the island of Symi by a narrow and shallow strait called Diapori.

The inhabitants, worthy of their earliest ancestor Glaucos, are the best divers and the boldest seamen in the world, and the chroniclers never ceased to praise them as amphibious. On account of this aptitude they are prominent in the working of the sponge fishery, and as navigators in general, and distinguished in commerce, in shipbuilding and other industries.

At another period before the last century the island was covered with forests, and olive-trees abounded, but owing to stress of circumstances, principally during the War of Greek Independence, the islanders had to sell

¹ VI. 82.

² VIII. 41.

³ Its identity proves that the name it has to-day is only a translation of its ancient nomenclature. See also Chaviaras in the above-named page, and *Insc. Ins. mar. Aeg.* p. 276. Cf. Pliny, V. 36, 133.

much of their timber. Now the forests are attenuated, and the aspect of the mountainous island is more barren and rocky. Some plateaux and two wide productive valleys, one of which is called Pedi, exist, as also two springs of water.

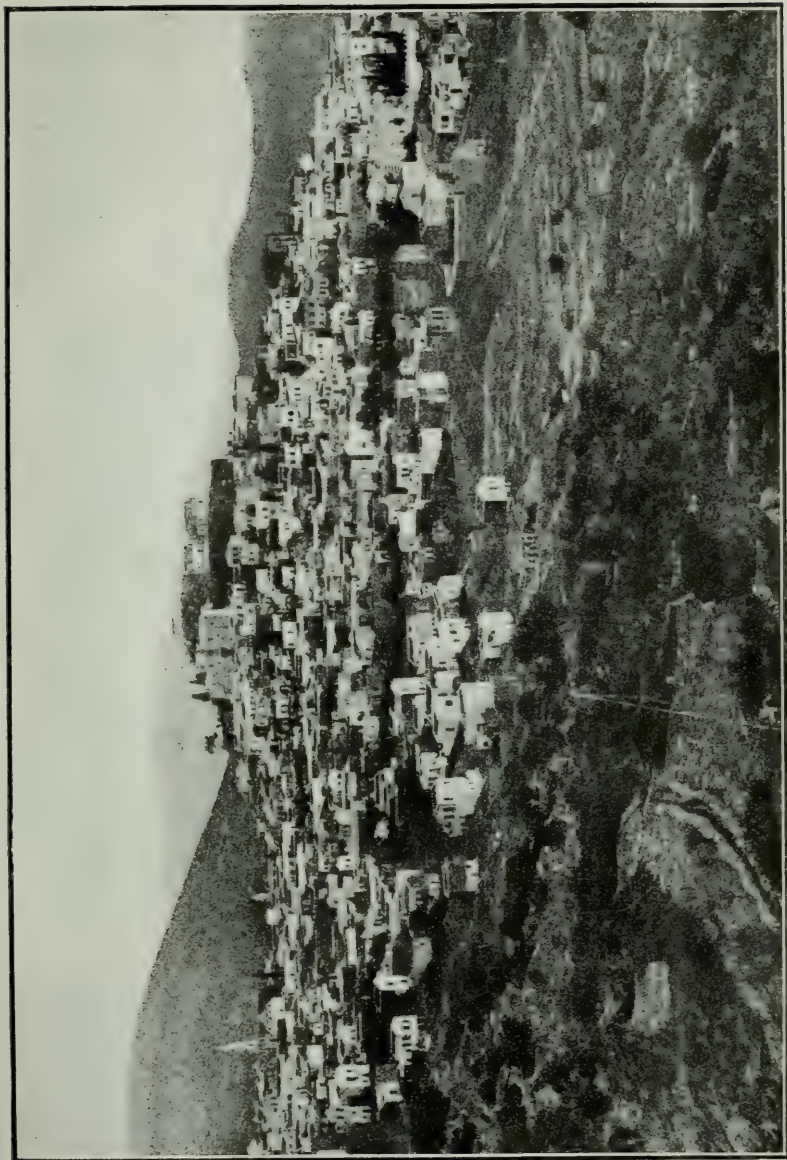
The Symiots have some flourishing colonies on the opposite mainland of Asia Minor, and have possessed for many centuries some islets in the Gulf of Doris and in the Gulf of Symi, such as Kamariani, Elesa, Psara, Kamari. Therefore the leading Italian commercial paper, although praising the energetic activity and the hereditary nautical and mercantile talents of these islanders, expresses the fear that they, possessing such gifts and being in such close proximity to Asia Minor, might set up a strong infiltration of undesirable aliens into the sphere of the Italian interests and give them some trouble.¹

In conclusion, the island contains a town which has an excellent view and is known as the capital. It has kept the name of Symi throughout history, and it is divided into two sections by a hill, on the high plateau of which stands the acropolis, called Castron. The section nearest the harbour bears its name, Aigialos, and the other, which extends to the slope of the highest mountain of the island, is called Chorion and is an aggrandisement of the ancient city.

Carpathos. This island, which is one of the southern Sporades, is second to Rhodes in dimensions, and lies between the two large islands of Crete and Rhodes in the sea that bears its name, the Carpathian Sea.

The distance which separates Carpathos from the eastern extremity of Crete, named by Strabo Salamonium

¹ *Corriere Mercantile*, Wednesday, August 18, 1920, in the article "Le isole che cediamo alla Grecia."



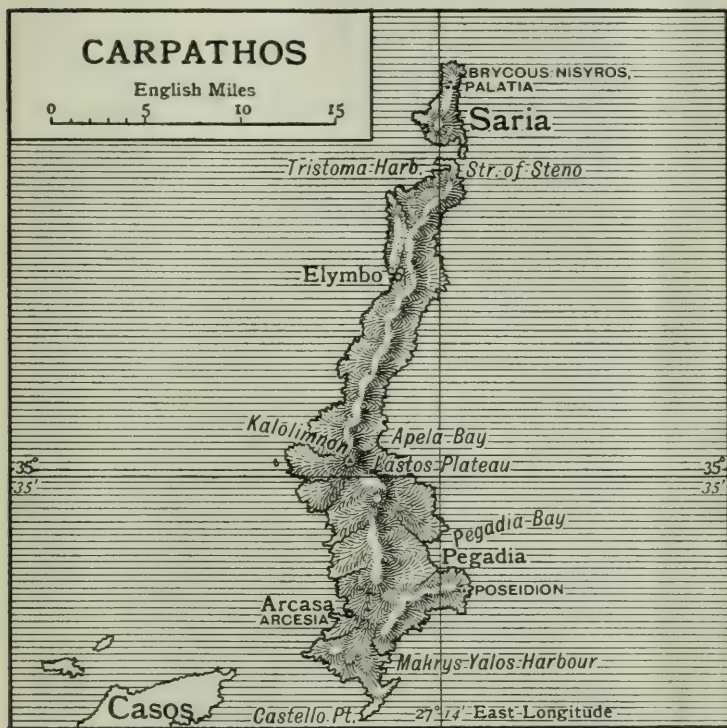
[Photo by N. Halsgras.]

THE ACROPOLIS OF SYRI

(Sidero), is 40 miles, and it is about 30 miles from the southern extremity of Rhodes, called to-day Prasonisi.

Its latitude is $35^{\circ} 35'$ N., and its longitude $27^{\circ} 14'$ E., and its area 332 sq. kilom.

The island rises considerably above the water, and



is narrow and long in form, stretching from north to south. The length of the island with the islet beyond the Straits of Steno is about 30 miles, and the width 7 miles. According to the British Admiralty map the circumference of Carpathos is 75 miles.

A chain of lofty mountains runs the whole length of Carpathos, the highest summit of which, Kalolimnon (4,500 feet), is nearly in the centre and can be seen at a

great distance out at sea. From this elevation a fine panoramic view is obtained of the surrounding islands and islets, and under favourable atmospheric conditions a part of the Asiatic coast is visible.

In the mountains there is the plateau of Lastos, 4,000 feet high, as well as ravines, caves and caverns, wherein legend tells us that the bones of giants were found. Down the slopes of the mountains springs rise and flow, fertilising the land on their way to the sea. In this block of mountains, silver and iron mines and quarries of gypsum and pignite have been discovered.¹

Reefs and shoals surround the islands, and sailors have to beware of them. From the times of antiquity the dangers of the Carpathian Sea were known to navigators, as is confirmed by the following verse of Horace relating to the subject :—²

“ Ut mater, juvenem, quem Notus invido
 Flatu Carpathii trans maris sequora,
 Cunctantem spatio longius annuo
 Dulci distinet a domo.”

The tortuous and irregular coasts of the island are naturally marked by capes and bays of various shapes. The latter offer excellent anchorage and shelter for the shipping, and three of them are known as harbours. The one called by the ancients Tristomos,³ on account of its three entrances formed by two rocks obstructing the waterway into the bay, is the largest and safest, and lies towards the N.W. of the island; the second, which is the most frequented and offers good shelter to seamen, is named Pegadia, and stands on the S.E. side. Further south is the harbour of Makrys Yalos, equally protected and with deep waters for anchorage.

¹ Lacroix (*Les Îles de la Grèce*, p. 197) speaks also of marble quarries, but these appear so far not to have been found.

² *Od.* IV. 5, 9-12.

³ Now Tristoma.

Homer gives the island the name of Crapathos, and some others the name of Pallenia. At different periods of antiquity it seems to have been thickly populated, and according to the number of prosperous cities it was also called Tetrapolis, Tripolis and Heptapolis, or Oktapolis.

The principal ancient towns of Carpathos were Brycous Nisyros,¹ Arcesia² and Poseidion.

Poseidion, standing on the eastern side of the island, appears to have been the capital of the ancient Carpathians, known as the Eteocarpathioi. Since 1894 the capital has been Pegadia, having the same name as its harbour. Before the above-named year the capital was Apereion, which remains the seat of the prelate (Metropolitan) of Carpathos and Casas.

Strabo, writing of the same island, states :³ “ Carpathos, which the poet calls Crapathos, is lofty, having a circumference of 200 stadia. It had four cities (Tetrapolis), and its name was famous, which it imparted to the surrounding sea. One of these cities was called Nisyros, after the name of the island Nisyros. It lies opposite Leukē Actē (white shore) in Libya, which is distant about 1,000 stadia from Alexandria and about 4,000 from Carpathos.”

Pliny speaks of it in two places, and in the one case calling it erroneously Carpathum, he continues, “ which has given its name to the Carpathian Sea.” In the second case⁴ he informs us that Carpathos is one of the islands of the Rhodians, and confirms again that it has given its name to the surrounding sea.

But poets, who, as Lacroix truly says, bring reports from much greater antiquity than do the historians,

¹ On the island of Carpathos, now called Saria, and on the ruins of Palatia.

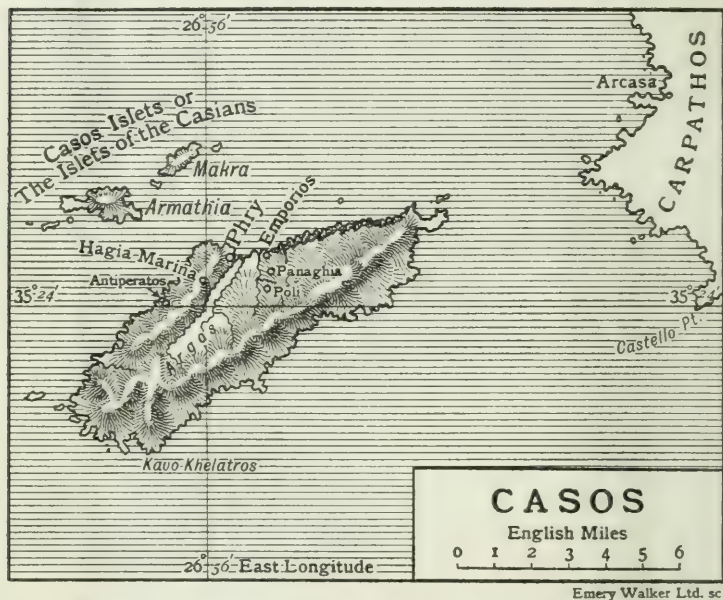
² Now Arcasa.

³ IV. 23.

⁴ *Hist. Nat.* V. 36. See also Steph. of Byzant. p. 159.

tell us various fables attaching to the island. For we learn from them that as Crete was the cradle of the father of gods, Carpathos was also the birthplace of his adversaries, the Titans, who were the offspring of Iapetos and the nymph Asia, and were by name Hesperos, Atlas, Epimetheus and Prometheus.

There is another interesting legend representing Proteus,¹ the notorious sailor-god and son of the Ocean



and of Thetis, as reigning in this island, though the neighbouring Casians proudly claim this god as their own.

There is every prospect of a happy future for Carpathos. Its soil, fisheries and minerals augur well for its future as a *Dekapolis*, an island of ten cities.

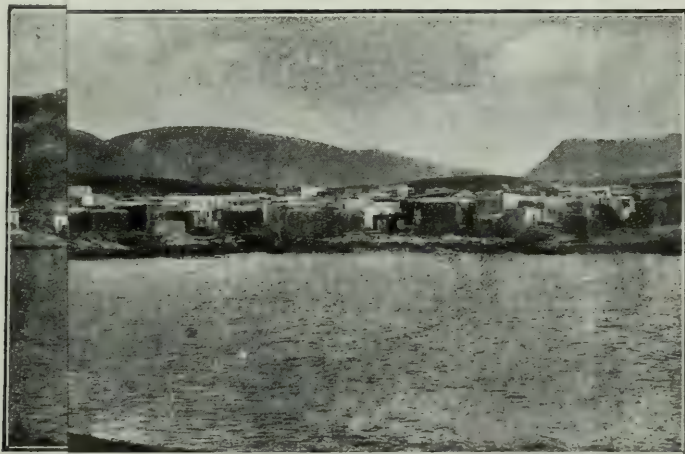
Casos. (Lat. $35^{\circ} 24' N.$, Long. $26^{\circ} 56' E.$ Length 10 miles and width 4 miles. Area 50 sq. kilom.)

This island has kept its name throughout known

¹ Virgil, *Georg.* IV. 384.



[Faccioli.]



[Faccioli.]



PERADIA: THE CAPITAL OF CARPATHOS

[Faccioli.]



PHRY: THE CAPITAL OF KASOS

[Faccioli.]

history. Homer mentions it, and Stephanos of Byzantium, writing of it, says ¹ that it was so named by Casos, the father of Cleomachos (or Cleochos), who colonised it, and that it was previously called Amphe and Astrabe. The same author erroneously assigns it, with other islands of the Dodecanese, to the Cyclades.

There are some writers who have maintained that the name of the island Casos was derived from the Phœnician word *Ikas*, which means foam, and that it was so called by the old Phœnician mariners because of the foaming surf round its coasts.² Pliny also gives us the name of the island as *Astrabe*.³

Another ancient name of the island is reported—*Achne* ("Αχνη),⁴ which means sea-foam, and suggests a Greek interpretation of the earlier Phœnician name. It is, however, considered by others that this nomenclature is attributable to the dew which gathers on its surface during the spring.

Casos is situated almost between Carpathos and Crete, being 3 miles distant from the former and 26 from the latter. Geographers viewed it as the first pillar of an irregular bridge which through Carpathos and Rhodes links Crete with the mainland of Asia.

Strabo writes ⁵ that Casos is 70 stadia distant from Carpathos, and 250 stadia from the promontory Salamonium (Sidero) in Crete. He also adds that it is 80 stadia in circumference and contains a city of the same name, some ruins of which are seen in the village of *Poli* (city).

As regards the formation of the island, it is composed of a range of high mountains with precipitous and unapproachable coasts, except on the northern side of the island, where there is a plateau on which the five small

¹ p. 161.

² See Berard, *Les Phén. et l'Odys*, Vol. I. pp. 342 ff.

³ *Hist. Nat.* IV. 3.

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V. 36, 133.

⁵ X. 5, 18.

villages of Casos and the capital stand. There are also a few fertile valleys amongst the mountains which the inhabitants cultivate with great industry. The most productive valley is called Argos, a name found likewise in Calymnos and Nisyros. Remarkable also is a cavern which stands in the place called Selay, and has one of the best displays of stalactites to be seen.

The capital, named Phry (*ὀφρὺς*), dates from 1840 and got the name from the configuration of the shore. It has a small and narrow bay used only by small boats and sailing vessels, and this is the place of embarkation and disembarkation for the island. A wider bay is that of Emporios, near the village Panaghia. Between this place and the capital was the shipbuilding yard during the days of prosperous sailing-ship construction in the island. Now the Casians, like the Leriots, are the only peoples of Dodecanese who own steamships.

At a distance of three miles there are some small islets about which Strabo announces that they were called the islands of the *Casii*. Of these the largest lies to the west and is known as Armathia (*τὰ Ἀρμάθια*), where there are gypsum quarries, and the other smaller island is named Makra; it was there that the ships of the Casians wintered. In the former islet there are quarries of an excellent quality of gypsum.

In Syria there is a mountain called the Casian mountain, and it seems probable, if we accept the view of Stephanos of Byzantium, that it received its name from a colony of Casians who had settled there in earlier times.

A flourishing colony of Casians is to be found now in Port Said, and many offshoots of them in Suez and Ismailia. The settlement of these islanders in Egypt dates from the commencement of the construction of

the Suez Canal, in which work they took a prominent part.

Cos. The island of Cos, so called by the Greeks from antiquity to the present day, and by the modern alien known as Lango, Stanko, Stanchio, and Istankeui, lies at the entrance of the Ceramic gulf like a vigilant guardian of the native soil of Herodotos, or like a huge dolphin about to swim.¹ Its name, though Carian according to some writers, is connected with one of the many legends attaching to this island, and comes, as Stephanos of Byzantium states,² from Cos, the daughter of Merops. The same writer tells us that it bore also other names, such as Caris and Coos, and of the latter gives three different spellings, Κάως, Κόως, and Κόος.

Pliny³ states that the island was formerly called Merope, Kea, and Meropis, and after that Nymphaia.

And the name Meropis is associated with another legend, according to which Merops, the son of Triopas, came as chief of a colony to Cos from Thessaly and gave it his name.

Hence it is that we find the name of Meropis united with that of Cos in the writings of Thucydides.⁴ E. L. Hicks,⁵ commenting on the words of Thucydides, say that these, after careful examination, suffice to prove that the eastern portion of the island was called "Cos ἢ Meropis." To us, however, this is not conclusive, because Thucydides, speaking of another event on the same side of the island, writes simply the word Cos,⁶ which shows that Thucydides in both cases, whilst reporting events, was indifferent as to geographical accuracy.

But if we could put our faith in the legends, it would

¹ Paton and Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*. p. 1.

² p. 178.

³ *Hist. Nat.* V. 36, 134.

⁴ VIII. 41.

⁵ Paton and Hicks, *The Insc. of Cos*, p. xlix. See also xxvii.

⁶ VIII. 108.

appear that the name of Cos was of very old origin, for there was tradition in the form of a legend sung by Homer that Heracles, after sacking Troy, disembarked at Cos. It was then, according to Ovid, that some native women, on account of their ill-will towards this god, were turned into kine.¹

Both the ancient and the modern writers are loud in their praise of the beauty, charm and fertility of the island.

Theocritus, inspired by the marvellous scenes of the region, joins with Homer and Callimachos,² and expresses its wonders in beautiful verses.

Strabo³ likewise praises the fertility of Cos, and especially its excellent wines; and pointing out the places of importance, he mentions amongst them the celebrated temple of Asclepieion, full of votive offerings and standing in the suburb of the capital.

Eustathios⁴ also notes the way Cos was blessed by good fortune and quotes the saying that "whom *Cos* could not feed, Egypt likewise could not."⁵

And Pouqueville, a century before our time, sums up the character of the island in the following words of Theret: "There is no pleasanter land under the heavens than Cos, and viewing its lovely and odoriferous gardens you would say that it is a terrestrial paradise."

The latitude of Cos is 36° 53' N., its longitude 27° 20' E., its circumference 70 miles, and its area 286 sq. kilom. It stretches from E. to W., and comes third to Rhodes as the most important in size and second in regard to its past story, for Carpathos, although a larger island, does not occupy the same prominence in history, nor is its

¹ Ovid, *Metam.* VII. 363. Homer, *Iliad*, XIV. 255.

² *Hymn in Del.* v. 164. Theocr. *Idyl* XI.

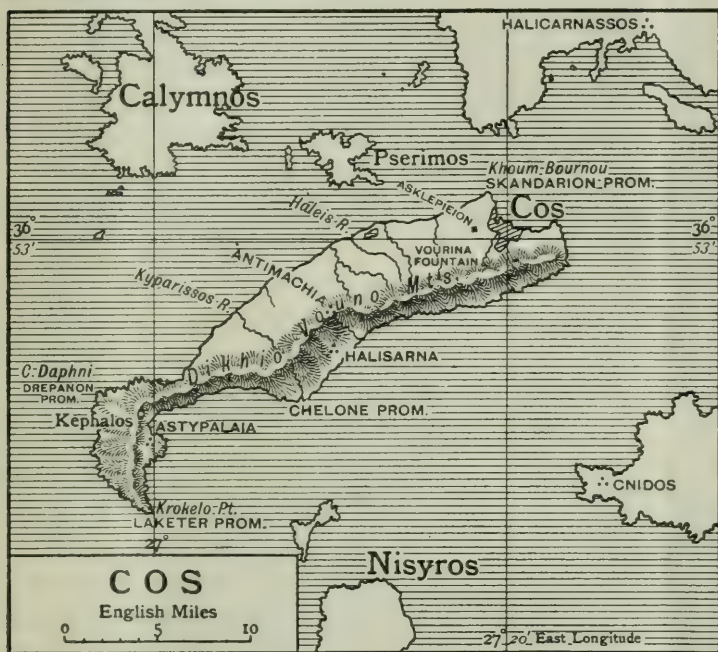
³ XIV. 2, 19.

⁴ *Ad Iliad*, XIV. 255.

⁵ "ὃν οὐ θρέψει Κῶς, ἐκείνον οὐδ' Αἴγυπτος."

situation so advantageous. The length of Cos is a little more than three times its width.

Strabo places Cos in the Icarian Sea and gives it a circumference of about 550 stadia, though Pliny writes that it is the most noted island in the Ceramic gulf, and that it is 15 miles from Halicarnassos and 100 miles in circumference.



Emery Walker Ltd. &c.

A considerable chain of mountains runs along the southern and western coasts of the island, with a little break opposite the island of Nisyros. The name of it was, according to Pliny, *Prion*, and now it is Dikhio Vouno. On the other and north-western side of Cos extends a long and fertile region.

In ancient writings¹ two small rivers are named, Haleis and Kyparissos, and four capes, Scandarion and

¹ Strabo and Pausanias.

Drepanon to the north, and Laketer and Chelone to the south.

The ancient capital of the island was Astypalaia,¹ which stood on its S.W. coast, where probably is now the site "Ta Palatia," near Kephalos and the bay of Kastri,² and which during the Peloponnesian War was attacked by the Lacedæmonians, and towards the close of the same conflict was fortified by Alcibiades.³

Later on, when Maussollos, the Carian prince, transferred his capital from Mylasa to Halicarnassos, the Coans decided to raise (367 B.C.) a large capital for commercial purposes on the eastern extremity of the island and near to the cape of Scandarion (Khoum-Bournou) and to the great sanctuary of Asklepios, which gave the island such immense fame, and drew so much wealth on account of pilgrims who came to be cured. They gave it the same name as the whole island, apparently imitating Rhodes in this respect as in other matters. Moreover, they constructed a harbour for the new city. The new capital was situated on the same spot as the one which stands there to-day.

Diodoros, speaking about this construction, says: ⁴ "The inhabitants of Cos at that time settled themselves in the town they now enjoy and gave it the grandeur it now has. For it became very populous, and a costly wall was drawn round it, and they provided it with an excellent harbour. From this time forward it grew more and more, both in its public revenues and in the private wealth of its inhabitants, and in general it rivalled the most conspicuous cities in the world."

This harbour, which Skylax ⁵ characterises as landlocked, is almost effaced by the work of time.

¹ Strabo, XIV. 2, 19.

² Rayet, *Mémoire sur l'Île de Cos*, p. 76.

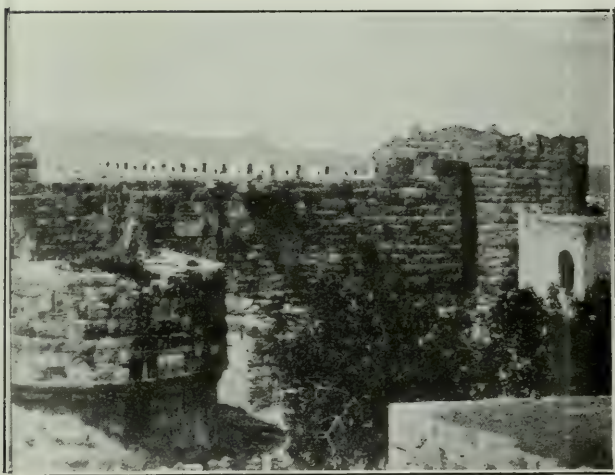
³ Thucyd. VIII. 41, 108.

⁴ XV. 76. See also Strabo, XIV. 2, 19.

⁵ Skylax, peripl. 99 (Caria).



[Faccioli.]



[Faccioli.]



CHORA (Cos): THE CAPITAL OF COS

[Paccioli.]



THE CASTLE OF COS

[Paccioli.]

From what Strabo writes about the founding of this city, we gather that it was built because of a compromise between the Coans, who were in a state of internecine war, which appeased both sides, though it was in reality a victory for progress and prosperity.

The same writer likewise speaks of the beauty of the new city and the agreeable sight which it offered to those who approached from the sea.

Just as Strabo in ancient times appreciated the loveliness of the capital of Cos, so we, on visiting it in these modern days, when it is called Chora, find that the town retains all its fascination with its site, its luxuriant gardens, and its general florescence, its famous plane-tree, which, they say, goes back to the age of Hippocrates, and its well-preserved mediæval castle.

Other places in Cos mentioned by ancient writers are Halisarna, Antimachia and the famous fountain Vourina, which is near to the capital and still retains its old name.

In fine, we may say that Cos is not only rich in wines, minerals and agricultural products, but it also offers a great field for antiquarian research.

The operations undertaken by Herzog in the Asklepieion (1902) and the zealous archæological work done by Paton and his colleagues promise further results in the future under the favourable conditions that will shortly come into force in the island.

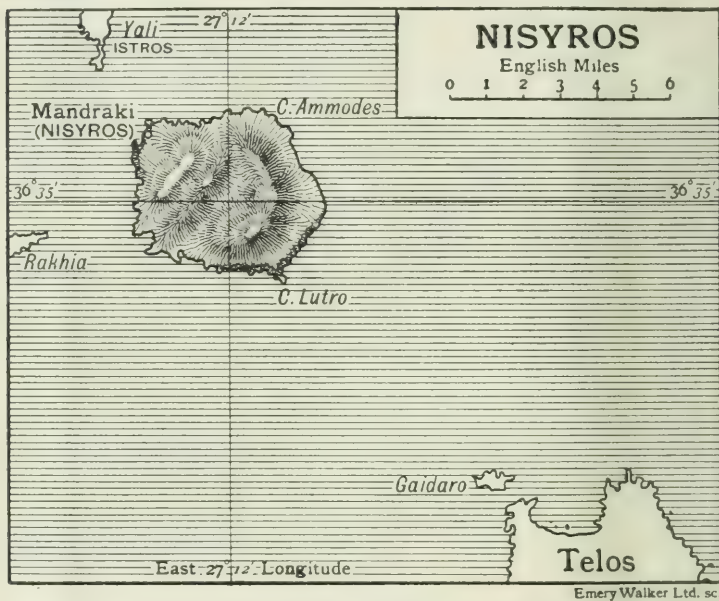
Nisyros. (Lat. $36^{\circ} 35'$ N., Long. $27^{\circ} 15'$ E. Area 34.6 sq. kilom.)

Strabo ¹ gives 80 stadia as the circumference of this island, and places it between the islands of Cos and Telos and at an equal distance from both, namely 60 stadia in each case. He also puts it amongst the Sporades,

¹ X. 5, 16.

whilst Stephanos of Byzantium reckons it amongst the Cyclades.

Nisyros owes its origin to powerful volcanic action, and the writers agree that it was once detached from Cos by some earthquake, though recognising that it is a volcanic cone (2,290 feet), fairly recent, still warm, "and rich in sulphurous earth and hot springs of various qualities." But ancient legend places another con-



struction on it for the embellishment of mythology. It tells us that Nisyros is a fragment which Neptune, when pursuing the giant Polybotes, broke off from Cos by a blow with his trident, and hurled upon his enemy while he was swimming. Thus the missile formed the island of Nisyros, with the giant lying beneath it and shaking it with his efforts to free himself from the weight of the burden.¹

¹ Strabo, X. 5, 16, Apollod. 1. 6, 2; Eustath. *Comment. on Dionys. Perieg.* 525, p. 319. See also Pausan. I. 2, 4.

Strabo describes Nisyros as round in form, lofty and rocky, and possessing an abundance of mill-stone, owing to which the neighbouring people are well supplied with stones for grinding. He also adds that it contains a city of the same name, a harbour, hot springs, and a temple of Neptune, and that small islands are near it called the islands of the Nisyrians.¹

Pliny, writing of the same island, informs us that it lies 12 miles from Cnidos, and was formerly called Porphyris.² It is generally assumed that this ancient name was derived from the abundant supply of shells which yield the purple dyes largely consumed by the Phœnicians either for dyeing stuffs or for colouring designs. This explanation is supported by Stephanos of Byzantium, who states that the island was likewise called Porphyris on account of the shells of purple.³ It was also recorded that another name of the island was Kisseris, from the Greek word *kisseris* (pumice-stone), which is likewise found there in large quantities.

The name Nisyros is traced in one case as being formed by the Greek words *νέω* and *σύρω*,⁴ of which the first means swim and the second draw, and this derivation represents the mythological origin of the island, because it recalls Poseidon hurling the fragment of Cos against the swimming giant in that island's waters. Others, such as Dapper,⁵ consider Nisyros to be a Phœnician name, which is believed to have given rise to the legend, and that it is formed of Nisieroth, which in the Phœnician language means a bit or piece, and thus Nisyros would, they hold, signify a bit detached from the island of Cos.

¹ Strabo, x. 5, 16.

² *Hist. Nat.* V. 36, 3.

³ p. 211.

⁴ Eustath. *Comment. on Dionys. Perieg.* 525, p. 319.

⁵ *Descrip. de l'Archip.* p. 179.

It is singular that Prof. Berard,¹ writing about the same subject and considering the word Phœnician, translates it as "summit for observation" (σκοπιά).

To-day the capital of Nisyros is named Mandraki, and it stands near the sea on the N.W. side of the island and close to the site of the ancient town Nisyros. Its harbour, which was identical with that mentioned by Strabo and others, has been blocked up in consequence of volcanic eruption. Ruins of the walls of this ancient harbour, as also remains of the ancient temple of Neptune and of the acropolis hard by, are visible to-day.

The islet of Nisyros is also crowned with ancient ruins.

To conclude, we may add that this island is the most wooded of all the Dodecanesian islands and possesses natural medicinal waters as of old.

Calymnos. The latitude of this island is 37° N., its longitude is 27° E., its area 109 sq. kilom., and its form an irregular quadrangle.

It lies off the coast of Caria, about 10 miles west of Myndos, and 15 miles N.W. of Cos, from which it is separated by an arm of the sea.

The surface of the island is mountainous and mostly bare, but it is divided by two deep valleys, named Pothaia and Vathy, which are fertile and somewhat wooded, reminding us that Ovid describes the island as shaded with woods² and fruitful in honey.³

It was known under many names, Calydna, Calymna, Calamo, and later till this day, Calymnos.

Strabo⁴ places it in the Carpathian Sea, and gives the opinion of some ancient writers who believed that Homer, when mentioning the Calydnai islands, took them

¹ *Les Phœniciens et l'Odyssée*, Vol. II. p. 191.

³ *Metam.* VIII. 222. See also Strabo, VI. 5.

² *Ars amat.* II. 81.

⁴ *Ibid.*



NISYROS : ITS AN



[Photo by S. Peliculus.

EMPROSTHINI, A SUMMER RESORT IN CALYMNOS



OFF MANDRAKI

[Faccioli.]

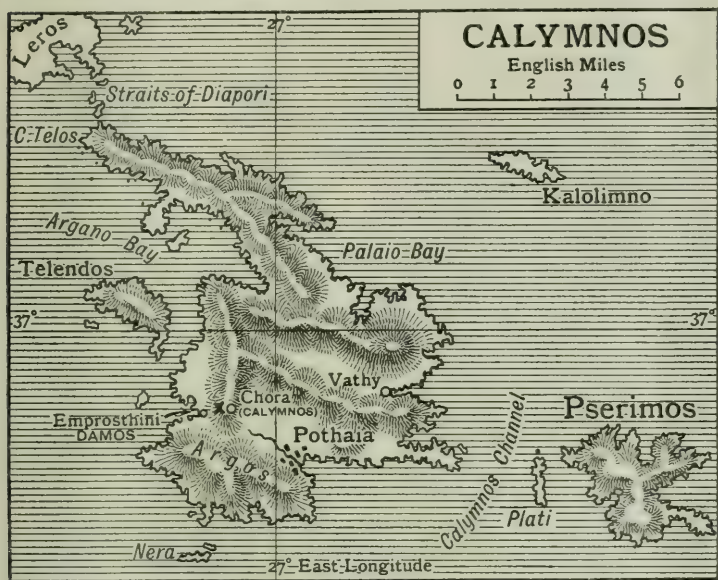


[Photo by S. Pelecanos.]

WOMEN FETCHING WATER FROM THE "NEW WELL" AT CALYMNOS

to be the Sporades. But this was an obvious error, because Homer ¹ distinctly names some of the Sporades, such as Nisyros, Crapathos, Casos and Cos, and further, he gives "the islands Calydnai."

The geographer, continuing, adds that it is probable that as the islands which are near and dependent have their name from the Nisyrii and Casii, so those that lie



around Calymna had their name from that island, which was then perhaps called Calydna. He also gives other versions to explain the name of Calydnai. Thus he states: "Some say that Calydnai islands are two, Leros and Calydna, and that the poet points to these."

There is even an interpretation of this term as signifying good comrades, which gives the two Greek words *καλαί ὕδναι*,² of which the name Calydnai may be composed. This belief would reveal to us that at the

¹ *Iliad*, II. 676.

² Hesychios, s.v. ὕδναι.

time of Homer the two islands had not a separate name, but a name common to both. That is not strange, because we have other instances of adjacent islands named together, though individual islands within this group may have also personal names to distinguish them. In this connection we can point to Pityousai off Spain, within which group was one island called Ebousos, and a second named Ophioussa, and the Gymnesian (Balearic) islands.¹

It may be also noted here that the Byzantines frequently linked together the names of Leros and Calymnos, thus making them one, Lerocalymnos.

Eustathios of Thessalonica² expresses this view more clearly when he writes: "and Calydnai, mentioned by Lycophron, belong to the Sporades. Of these one is specially called Calydna, from which the other adjacent islands received the same appellation."

The same opinion has been expressed by Ross during the last century.

According to this view the name Calydnai comprises the two large islands Calymna and Leros and their dependencies Telendos, Pserimos, Plati, Leipso, etc.

This group continued to bear the same name with the same significance down to the second century B.C., as can be seen in an inscription discovered by Newton and now in the British Museum.³

But it seems more probable that from an early period, not long after Homer, the larger islands of their group had a separate name, and when it was desired to distinguish between them, the one was called Calydna,

¹ *Oiconomopoulos Leriaca*, p. 4.

² *Commentarii eis Διονύς. τὸν περιηγ.* Edit. Müller, p. 321. See also Steph. of Byzant. p. 155, and Phavorinos' *Dictionary*, p. 284.

³ N. 259, 9-10. "Ἐπὶ τὰν πόλιν καὶ τὰν χώραν (= island) καὶ τὰς νάσος τὰς Καλύδνας."

and from the fourth century Calymna, and the other Leros.

Therefore Phocylides, the poet of the sixth century, when writing about the inhabitants of the latter, names them Lerians, and in the Athenian quota a marked distinction is found between the inhabitants of Calydna and those of Leros, because the former are called Calydnioi and the latter Milesioi Lerioi, on account of the colonists from Miletos who came to the island and amalgamated with the natives.

Herodotos and Thucydides also confirm this distinction when they write about facts connected with Leros.

But Skepsios, according to Strabo, says that the name of the island of Calymnos was used in the plural number Calydnai, like Athenai, Thebai, and that the words of the poet must be understood according to the figure hyperbaton, or inversion, for he does not say "the islands Calydnai," but "They who occupied the islands Nisyros, Crapathos, Casos, and Cos . . . and Calydnai."

Thus, in accordance with the above opinion of Skepsios, Calymnos only had the name of Calydna. But we cannot accept this opinion, because Homer states clearly, "and the *islands Calydnai*," under which designation the group appears. As we have already stated, Calydna and Leros were known at the Homeric epoch as the most prominent of the group, which had as satellites islets such as Telendos, Lipsos, etc.

Pliny, perhaps wishing to cut the Gordian knot of the difficulty (if it is not, as it seems, more likely the result of a confusion), gives us two islands, one ¹ bearing the name of Calymna and lying at a distance of 25 miles from Carpathos and containing the city of

¹ *Hist. Nat.* IV. 23, 71.

Coos, and another ¹ island named Calyadne, with the three towns of Notium, Nisyrus and Mendeterus.

The name Calamo was more commonly used at the period of the rule of the knights.

The present capital of the island is called Pothaia,² and is built on a site nearly in the form of an amphitheatre, with a harbour of the same name, and facing the not distant island of Cos. At no remote position stands the Chora, the elder city of Calymnos, the acropolis of which, named Castron (castle), is crowned by walls with towers, and in times of piracy after the tenth century afforded shelter to the inhabitants. Near to it lies the place which bears the old Dorian name of Damos, where the eminent English archæologist Charles Newton made successful excavations during the middle of the last century, the results of which may be seen at the British Museum.

In the near neighbourhood there also stood the temple of the Delian Apollo, not far from which there was a theatre. This, as an inscription shows, was dedicated to Apollo by Eutelestrate, the daughter of Aration.

Ancient also is the name of the plateau called Argos, where a church rebuilt by Christodoulos, the founder of the Monastery of Patmos, can still be seen.

Calymnos contains many caverns, of which the most noted is that of the "eptha parthenon" (seven virgins), so called because according to a tradition seven virgins persecuted by pirates sought refuge in it, but, unable to find a way out along the dark and tortuous passages, they perished. As we know, however, that almost every isolated spot in the Dodecanese has its story, it is probable

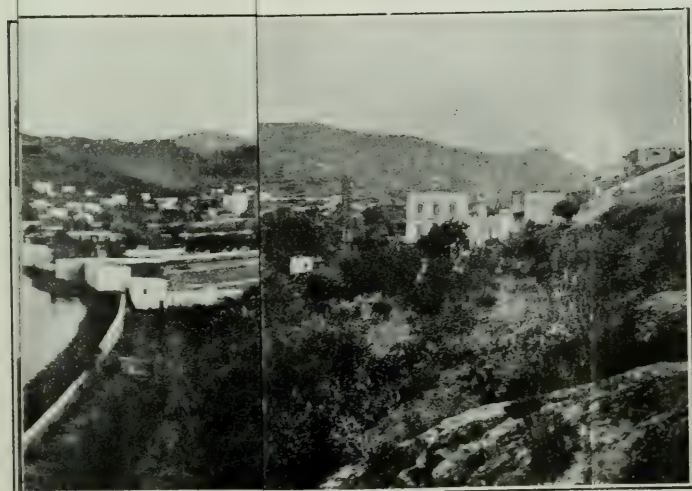
¹ *Hist. Nat.* V. 36, 133.

² From the inscriptions it seems that there were three δῆμοι in the island : "Ὀρκατος, Πόθαια and Πάνορμος, and, as we see, the second still exists in the principal place in the island.



PITAL OF CALYMNOS

[Faccioli.]



: RESORT OF LEROS

[Faccioli.]



PANORAMIC VIEW OF POTHIA, THE CAPITAL OF CALYMNOS

70000



PANORAMIC VIEW OF LAKKI, A SUMMER RESORT OF LEROS

70000

that this one is likewise a survival of an ancient legend associated with the cavern, the nomenclature of which could be "antron ton nymphon" (cavern of the nymphs), and with the lapse of time and the development of the legend the story could resolve itself into the above tradition.

Of the islets of Calymnos the most noticeable are Telendos, off its N.W. coast, where it forms a good protection at the entrance of an anchorage, and Pserimos. The latter, which is situated on the S.E. side of the island and nearer to Cos, is larger than Telendos; it has pleasant fields and ancient ruins, and recalls to mind the "Pserima" of Pliny and not Ὑψίρισμα (Ὑψέρεισμα?) recorded in the *Stadiasmos*.¹

The island of Calymnos takes a very prominent part in the advancement of thought and activity in the various phases of life.

Leros. (Lat. 37° 10' N., Long. 26° 50' E. Area 49.5 sq. kilom. Its length from north to south is 9 miles, and its breadth 4.) This island lies near the coast of Caria and opposite to the Mandelyan Gulf, the ancient Iasikos or Bargyliac.

Strabo² places it amongst the Sporades and gives the opinion which, as we saw before, some held about Calydnai, that they were two islands, Leros and Calydna.

The name of its inhabitants appears in the sixth century B.C. in the poems of Phocylides, and its name is clearly reported in the works of Herodotos³ and Thucydides.⁴ Pliny⁵ only mentions Leros amongst the islands of the Rhodians.

Leros is separated from Calymnos by the Straits of Diapori, of which the width is one mile and a half.

¹ Or periplus maris magni, p. 267. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V. 36, 134.

² X. 12 and 19.

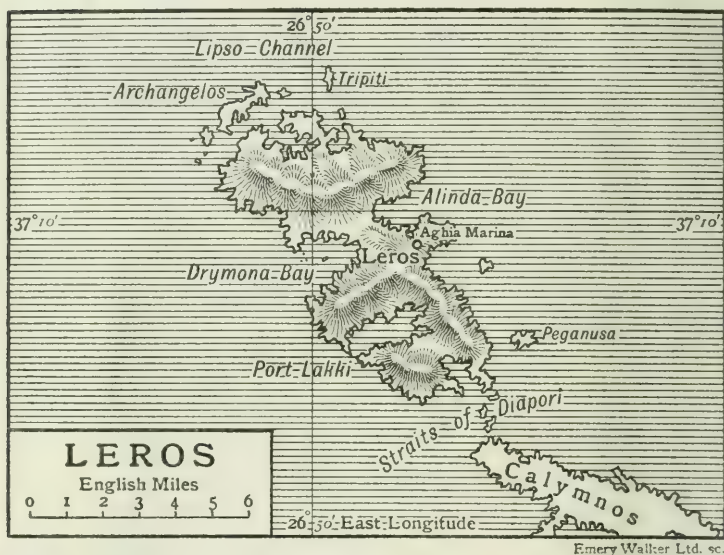
³ V. 125.

⁴ VIII. 28.

⁵ *Hist. Nat.* V. 36, 133.

There have been various opinions as regards the origin of the name *Leros*. B. Salichet thinks that the name was given by the Phœnicians because of the numerous sea-gulls (λάροι) found around the cliffs of these coasts; others suggest that it comes from the Greek word λείριον (lily), a flower found there in abundance.¹

But it is more probable that the name came from the



Greek word λερός, of which the neuter gender λερόν is quoted by Suidas² with the meaning of "flat." In this respect Leros would denote a flat spot, which is the case with its general configuration, and in comparison with other neighbouring islands, and would be formed by the transference of the accent from the last syllable of the word to the penultimate, as in many other Greek instances, such as Ξάνθος from ξανθός, Λάμπρος from λαμπρός, etc. We find a trace of this derivation in the writings of

¹ See "Ἡ νῆσος Λέρος," by T. Tsihlakis, p. vi.

² P. 53 and Phavorinos' Dictionary, p. 336.



[Faccioli.]



[Faccioli]



LEROS, THE CAPITAL OF THE ISLAND

[Faccioli]



THE ISLET OF LIPSO

[Faccioli]

Constantine Porphyrogennetos,¹ who gives the name of the island emphasising the accent on the last syllable of the word, *Λερός*.

The lexicographer Varinos Phavorinos² writes the name *Λαῖρος*. Again in the Byzantine period we find the name given as Lernos and Lerne.

The island is associated with an ancient Greek mythological fable.

The daughters of CENEUS were inconsolable on account of the premature death of their brother Meleager, who was famous for his success in hunting the Calydonian boar. Ceaselessly lamenting near the tomb of the dead they aroused the pity of the virgin goddess Artemis, who transformed them with a touch of her staff into guinea-fowls (*Meleagrides*) and conveyed them to Leros, from the top of whose mountain they gave vent to their mournful dirge.

In support of this legend is the fact that round the temple of the virgin goddess there was a marshy ground in which such sacred birds were bred.³ Aelian⁴ even reports that the *Meleagrides* at Leros were not molested by any of the carnivorous birds.

Ruins of this ancient temple still exist, as also of the Byzantine church which stood on the same ground, and vivid recollection of the temple Parthenion (the virgin goddess) has survived in the island, because the place is now named *Partheni*.

The island is, generally speaking, noted for a large fertile valley, deep bays and good harbours, very small mountains and pleasant country life. Therefore it is an excellent rendezvous during the summer for the *Leriot*s trading and living in Egypt. Its capital,

¹ *Cerem. Aulæ Byz.* p. 797, 12.

³ *Athenaios*, XIV. 71; *Ovid, Metam.* 267.

² *s.v.* p. 330.

⁴ *Hist. Anim.* X. 17.

standing on the eastern side, bears the same name, Leros, and is composed of two sections, Haghia Marina and Platanos. It has a harbour formed by a large bay where the water is deep and shipping finds shelter.

But the island enjoys an even greater benefit in possessing another large bay called Lakki, situated on its S.W. side, which, on account of the nature of its harbours and its geographical position, is a perfect refuge for shipping. Leros in time of war could be used as an excellent naval station.

Patmos. (Lat. $37^{\circ} 20'$ N., Long. $26^{\circ} 35'$ E. Area $39\cdot5$ sq. kilom.) This island is 8 miles in length from north to south, 4 in breadth, and has a circumference of about 37. Its character is mainly volcanic, as is the case with other Dodecanese islands.

This island lies in the Icarian Sea between Icaria and Leros, and on the borderland of the Carian and Lydian coasts.

Homer, who immortalised so many of the other islands, does not mention it. The earliest authentic reference we have to this lonely Ægean island is that of the illustrious historian Thucydides,¹ who, under the influence of positive thought, lit up the Greek intellectual world in the fifth century B.C.

Strabo² also reports the following: "Near these islands (the Sporades . . .) are Patmos . . . situated to the west of Icaria, which gives the name of Icarian to the sea in front of it, in which are situated Samos, Cos and the islands previously mentioned—Patmos, Leros, and Icaria."

Pliny likewise in his *Natural History* refers to "Patmos, thirty miles in circumference."³

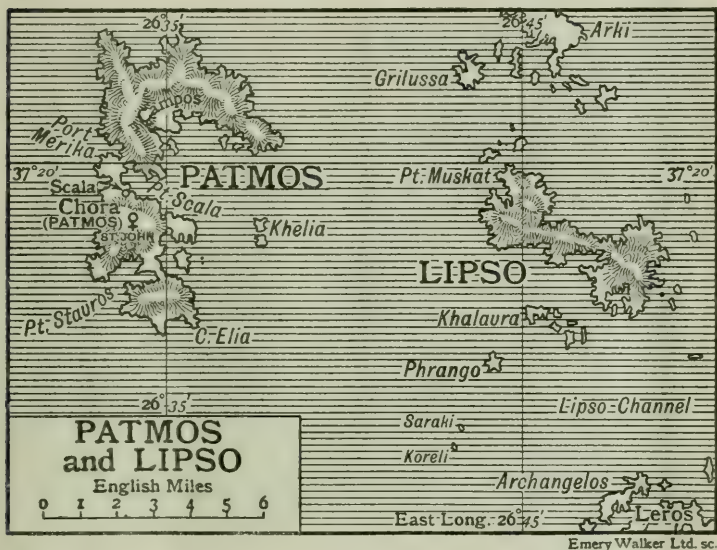
¹ III. 33, 3.

² X. 5, 13.

³ IV. 23, 69.

But that which made Patmos conspicuous in history and one of the most interesting islands in the world was St. John's presence there, permanent reminders of which, the cave of the revelations and the great monastery named after him, are features of the island.

The island on the whole is mountainous, rocky and barren, and has been mentioned in history as lacking



water, though we have the conflicting statement of the traveller Thevenot (1664), who states that the corsairs frequented this island to get water and to be re-tarred.¹ The valleys dispersed about it have some small woods of which the trees are frequently fruitful, and form a real oasis in the island.

Patmos has three harbours, of which the most perfect, and according to Tournefort one of the finest ports throughout the archipelago, is the central port called

¹ *Relations d'un voyage*, p. 191. See also Richard Pococke's *A Description of the East and . . .*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 32.

Skala. In antiquity the capital of the island had the same name, Patmos. To-day it is called *Chora*, and it stands under the monastery of St. John, which appears a strong citadel defending the city, and at a distance of about half an hour's walk from the harbour. There is also another inhabited spot on the northern side named *Campos*.

The island has been also known as Patmo, Patino, Palmo and Palmosa, but commonly as Patino or Patmos.

A modern writer (R. Geil) who visited the island some years ago describes the realisation of his lifelong desire in the following words :—

“ At last I near the port of Patmos. Island of the seven hills ! Island of the seven letters ! Island of the seven golden candlesticks ! Island of the seven stars ! Island of the seven lamps of fire ! Island of the seven spirits ! Island of the seven seals ! Island of the seven trumpets ! Island of the seven angels ! Island of the seven vials ! Island of the seven kings ! Island of Patmos ! Soon shall my feet tread the rock which the last of the apostolic penmen walked with the glorified Redeemer, as he listened to the story of the foundations, walls, gates, streets, wines, and glory of that city ‘ whose builder and maker is God ’ !

“ Patmos to-day is a wild and desolate island, of which the prevailing colour is brown, and which does not only arise from the lava character of the rocks, but also from the heather and shrub *arbutus*. It has, like all the other islands of the archipelago, an azure sea, limpid atmosphere, cerulean sky, jagged rocks with rugged edges, slightly covered here and there with scanty coating of verdure. The shapes and tints of the rocks and the living blue sea, dotted with the sea-fowl and contrasted with the reddish colour of the boulders, form a



CAPITAL OF PATMOS
 The grotto of the Apoca



[Faccioli.]



PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE HARBOUR AND CAPITAL OF PATMOS

(to the top of the hill to the right stands the Monastery of St. John. The grotto of the Apocalypse lies on the slope)

wonderful picture. The galaxy of isles and islets of the most varied formation, which rise from the waters like pyramids of shields, and dance an eternal chorus round the horizon, seem to be a fairy world belonging to a cycle of sea-gods and Oceanides leading a bright life of love, of youth and of sadness, in sea-green grottoes upon shores without mystery, by turns smiling or terrible, sunny or dark."

Lipso. (Lat. $37^{\circ} 20'$ N., Long. $26^{\circ} 45'$ E. Length 6 miles, width $2\frac{1}{2}$. Area 18 sq. kilom.)

This small islet is mentioned only by Pliny¹ amongst the ancient writers, and he calls it Lepsia, but it is generally known by three names, Leipso, Leipsoi and Lepsos. It is commonly considered as belonging to Leros, for it has no independent history, and it was only after the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese that this islet was separated from Leros and administered from Patmos and was counted by some Italians as the thirteenth unit.

On this islet there is a small inhabited spot with a harbour surrounded by some ancient ruins, and its natives produce all they require for their own support.

Astypalaia. This island, known to the natives as Astoupalia or Astroupalia, and to others as Stampalia, lies in latitude $36^{\circ} 35'$ N. and longitude $26^{\circ} 25'$ E., and has an area of about 136 sq. kilom.

Of the ancient writers, Strabo, Ptolemy, Stephanos of Byzantium and Pliny, who refer to this island, the first² reckons it amongst the Sporades situated in the Carpathian Sea, and says that it lies far away from the land, and contains a city,³ though Stephanos of Byzantium⁴ holds it to be one of the Cyclades, whilst also giving another island between Rhodes and Crete

¹ *Hist. Nat.* V. 36.

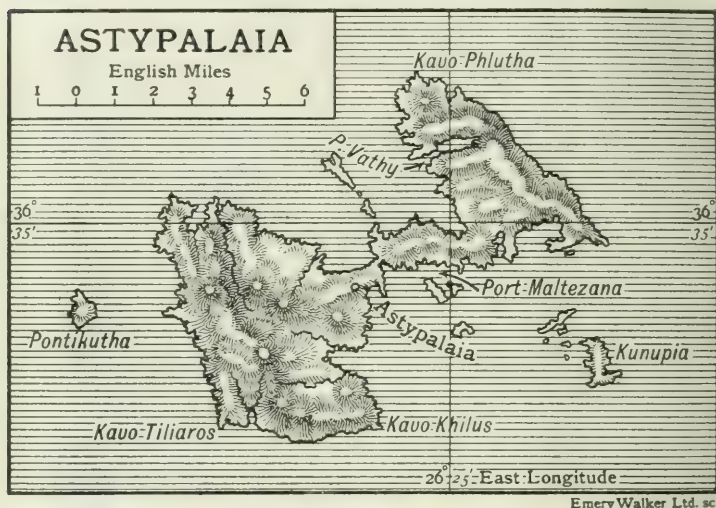
² X. 5, 15.

³ *Ibid.* 12.

⁴ pp. 62-63.

with the same name, an obvious mistake. Pliny¹ presents it to us as a free state and gives it a circumference of 88 miles and a distance of 125 miles from Cadistus in Crete. Ptolemy,² on the other hand, places it in the Myrtoan Sea.

We find also that the modern historian Lacroix³ assigns the island to the Cyclades, which shows that all these writers frequently disagree in the allocation of these regions in the Ægean.



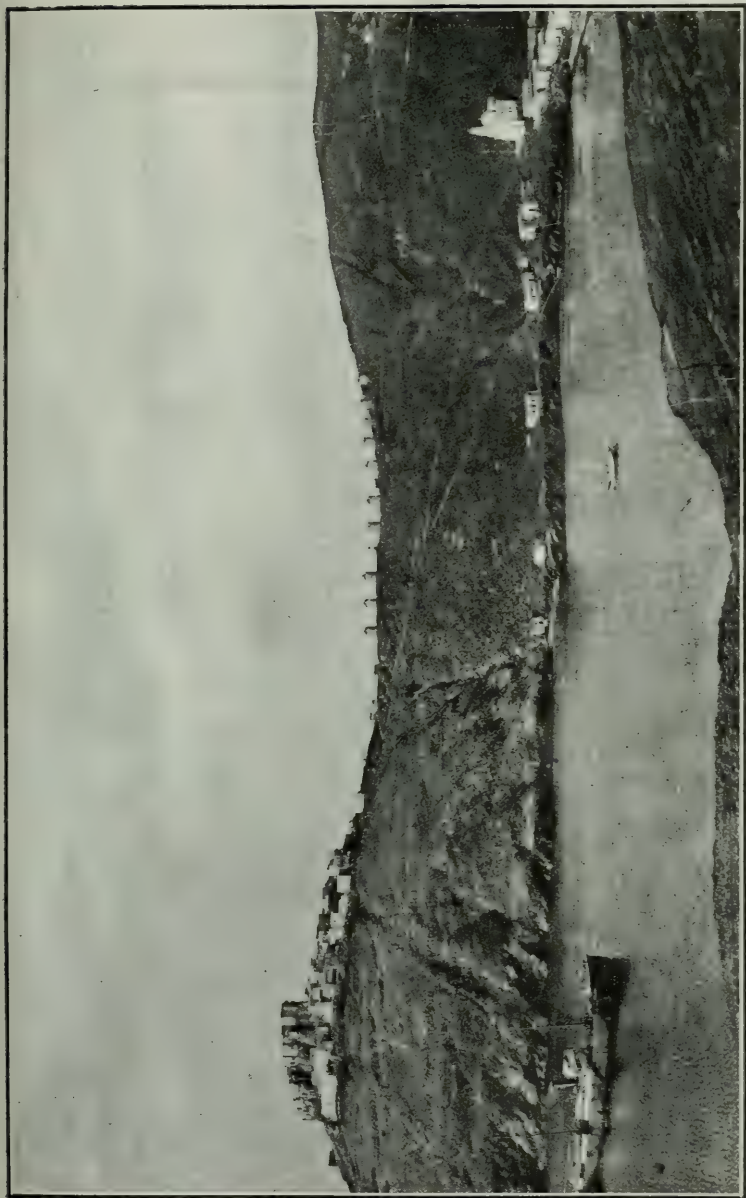
Stephanos of Byzantium in his record of the island reports that during the Carian domination it was called Pyrra, afterwards Pylaia (Πύλαια), and later the table of the gods (θεῶν τράπεζα). The latter term probably arose because it was buried under flowers or because of its great fertility. At a subsequent period it bore the name of Astypalaia, from Astypalaia, the mother of Ancaios by Neptune. This Ancaios reigned over the Leleges.

Professor Berard suggests that the name might have

¹ *Hist. Nat.* IV. 23.

² *Geograph.* V. 2.

³ *Les Îles de la Grèce*, p. 482.



[Faccioli.]

ASTYPALAEA WITH THE CASTLE OF QUIRINI

been given by the Greeks in their belief that the city was already old, having been inhabited by the Phœnicians during their supremacy at sea.

The island is mountainous, but nowhere does it attain a great altitude, a fact which prompted the traveller Friesman in 1789 to write: "It is not very high and one cannot see it from very far when out at sea, because one only begins to observe it at the distance of seven leagues." The island is notably fertile in the valleys, and it is composed of two high parts linked together by a low and very narrow isthmus. On each side of this isthmus there are two large bays which form excellent and natural anchorages, a fact which, united with the central position of the island in the *Ægean*, drew the favourable attention of the ancient Romans to the islanders, and caused them to seek their alliance.

The city of Astypalaia stands high up and near to the southern bay on the promontory which lies on the western side of the island, and is called by the natives "Ekso nisi" (external islet). The most conspicuous feature of the island is the harbour Maltezana, lying near to the eastern side of the isthmus, and faced by two islands, which afford excellent protection against the furious storms of the sea.

Many ancient Greek inscriptions and ruins are strewn about this island, and students of archæology, epigraphy, geology, botany and other branches of learning will find abundant material for study and research. The naturalists may some day be able to tell us why Aristotle describes the island as "enemy to serpents," and why its waters possess the finest sponges in the world.

CHAPTER II

THE HISTORY OF THE TERM " DODECANESE "

IT is an historic matter of debate whether the term *Dodecanese* is a new word, or an old one with a new meaning, or whether it is really a survival of an ancient term with all its former significance. We have made all possible efforts to sift the facts available to us, with the following results :—

First, the term *Dodecanese* has been understood to designate the group of islands named on page 1, since the Italian occupation which occurred during the spring of the year 1912. Before that event, and towards the end of the Turkish domination in these waters, from 1908–1912, the term was very commonly applied to the same islands, with the exception of Rhodes and Cos, whose places were previously occupied by Megiste (Castellorizzo) and Icaria.

Of the latter, Icaria was liberated from Turkish rule during the Balkan War, and was united to Greece. Megiste in March 1913 likewise revolted and passed over to the same rule, but during the Great War the French Vice-Admiral Moreau occupied the island (December 28, 1915), after issuing a declaration that the French occupation would be temporary only, and that in the event of the Allies proving victorious, it would be immediately returned to Greece. The fate of this island has now been determined by the treaty with Turkey (Art. 122), but not in accordance with the ardent wish of its inhabitants. It has passed under Italian rule.

The term Dodecanese, bearing the second significance, has been officially used since 1908, when the islanders began a desperate struggle against the Government of the Young Turks, which was attempting to cancel the privileges that these twelve islands had enjoyed from the time of Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, as we shall see later on.

Since those days we meet with the word "Dodecanesos" in all magazines, newspapers, maps and records, and very rarely with the incorrectly-given name "Dodecanisa" (from the words *Dodecanisia*).

Before 1908 this term was hardly used except in conversation; in official language the Turks referred to the group as the Sporades islands, or privileged islands of the Ægean Sea (archipelago). The Italians rarely employ the word Dodecanese; they usually write "The islands of the Ægean," "the island of Rhodes and the Sporades," "the islands of the Ægean occupied by the Italian army," and "the Thirteen Islands," when they add Lipsos to the group. In this book we shall employ the term Dodecanese as it is now understood, and only when we refer to the days of Turkish domination in the islands shall we use in addition the word "privileged" in order to indicate the Dodecanese, which under that sway had autonomous concessions.

The second view of the word is fairly old, as it is found in the writings of the Byzantines and in other mediæval works, but with another significance than that which our "Dodecanese" conveys.

The first Byzantine who uses the word is the chronicler and confessor Theophanes, who wrote his Chronography during the years 810/11 to 814/15.

The term appears twice in his work: once, when

describing a conspiracy ¹ against the Empress Irene (A.D. 780), he relates that amongst the men arrested was the Drungarius of *Dodecanese*, Theophylactos, the son of Rangabe; and again, when referring to the eighth act of injustice or bad disposition perpetrated by the Emperor Nikephoros I. (802–811), he states ² that he ordered principally those inhabiting the *Dodecanese* to pay.

Another subsequent Byzantine chronicler, George Kedrenos, referring ³ to the same act of injustice, repeats the description of Theophanes in absolutely similar words.

The interpreter of Theophanes explains in Latin the term *Dodecanese* as meaning “twelve islands of the Cyclades,” though his commentator in confirming the translation adds ⁴ that these twelve islands of the Cyclades made both a civil and an ecclesiastical province.

Xylandrius also, translating into Latin the writings of Kedrenos, states that “*Dodecanese* is a state of twelve islands.” And the commentator Goarus, referring to the same term, places *Dodecanese* as a state amongst the Cyclades.⁵

We see from all this evidence that the above writers, with their translators and commentators, were referring to another group of islands, a group within the Cyclades, and that in using the term of *Dodecanese* in A.D. 780 one of them was adopting a name which was well known, though we are at a loss to find the exact date of its origin; but with some certitude we can believe that it originates from the eighth century. Our reasons for this confident view are many, of which we produce some.

¹ Theoph. *Chronogr.* I. p. 702.

² *Ibid.* p. 756. 18 ff.

³ *Compend.* II. p. 38, 7.

⁴ Theoph. *Chronogr.* II. 550.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 832.

From the naval history of the Byzantine Empire we know that under Leo III. the Isaurian (717-740) there were three principal naval commands, that of the Cibyrræots, that of Samos, and that of the Dodecanese or of the Aigaion Pelagos.

Of the first command, a drungarius was the chief, and this post had once been held by Apsimar before he became Emperor under the name of Tiberius III. (677-705), but Leo raised the drungarius of this theme to the rank of strategos, though the other commands were placed under two different drungarii. On account of this, the naval theme of Dodecanese was under a drungarius during the eighth century, and even down to the reign of Michael III. (842-857), because in the *Taktikon Uspenski* (120) the title, Drungarius of the Aigaion Pelagos, is recorded.

Consequently, when we read, in the life of Theophanes¹ the Chronicler, that his father Isaac died still holding the magistracy of the Aigaiopelagitai, we gather that he was drungarius of the Dodecanese (or Aigaion Pelagos), and apparently before A.D. 780, for when Isaac died, his son, born in the year 759, was a child.

Hierocles in his *Synecdemos*² places Rhodes, Cos and Astypalaia in the *province of the islands*, which under the designation *provincia insularum* was originated by the Roman Emperor Vespasian.

Constantine Porphyrogennetos (905-959 A.D.), a regal author, writing later, states³ that Rhodes and Symi were in the XIVth Cibyrræot Theme, though at the same time he speaks of the Ægean theme,⁴ with its demarcation between the groups of Cyclades and

¹ Boor (Car. de) Theoph. *Chronogr.* II. 28, 7. 30, 15 (ed. Lipsiæ), or XLVIII., XLIX., edit. Bonn. See also Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the . . .*, pp. 108, 109.

² p. 28, 686, 687 (Ed. Lipsiæ). ³ *De Thematribus*, p. 36. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 42.

Sporades, and on the other hand of the Episcopal administration of the Byzantine Empire, to which he twice assigns the province of the Cyclades.¹ In one case he states that the first of the Metropolitans in the "province of the islands of the Cyclades" was that of Rhodes, and in the second case that the Archbishop of Carpathos was independent in the province of the same islands.

Further information comes to us from the Chronicle of Morea, which relates to the founding of Frankish feudalism in Greece in the thirteenth century. In this there is a passage² showing that the Dodecanese, which was given (1267) by the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Baldwin II., as a dowry to his son-in-law, was the Duchy of Naxos, which formed part of the Cyclades, a fact which is likewise confirmed³ by Mr. John Schmitt, an editor of this chronicle. This we can safely affirm, because we know that the southern group of the Ægean islands never came under the rule of the Latin Emperors at Constantinople. None of them consequently could have given it as a dowry or legacy.

Our opinion is likewise strengthened by the statement of two distinguished Byzantinists. The one is Gust. Schlumberger, who points out that Naxos was the capital of the "Duchy of the Dodecanese," or "kingdom of the twelve islands," and that the successors of Marc the First, who held the title of "Duke of Naxos" and died about A.D. 1227, carried equally the title of "*Duke of Naxos*" and that of "*Duke of the Archipelago*" or of "*the Dodecanese*."⁴

The other is W. Miller, who states⁵ that "Sanudo did homage to the Latin Emperor Henry, the overlord

¹ *De cerem. aul. Byz.* pp. 793, 3; 794, 5; 797, 12.

² *Chronicle of Morea*, pp. 174, 175, v. 2604.

³ *Ibid.* p. 635. See also W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 579.

⁴ *Numismatique de l'Orient latin*, pp. 343, 392.

⁵ *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 571.

of the Frankish states in the Levant, who invested him with his islands on a freer tenure than any baron who was then in the Empire of Romania," and erected them into a Duchy, then known by its old Byzantine name of "the Dodecanesos" (or "the twelve islands"), but soon called "The Duchy of Naxos" or "of the Archipelago"—the form into which the Latins corrupted the Greek term "Aigaion Pelagos."¹

From other sources, also, we know that mediæval geographers generally tried to distinguish the Cyclades from the Sporades, in other words, the northern and southern groups of the islands in the Ægean Sea or Archipelago, which washed the shores of European and Asiatic Greece, and of which the limit to the south was marked by the island of Crete, that shut it off on the African side, as does the island of Rhodes on the side of Asia.

Furthermore, from the ancient writers we gather that the name of the Sporades—derived from the Greek word *σπείρω*,² as they looked as if scattered without order along the Asiatic coast—was generally given to all those islands which lie between Samos and Rhodes. The Sporades are separated from the Cyclades—so called because they formed a (*κύκλος*) cycle round the historic Delos—by a line which would begin from Icaria and would terminate at Casos, passing Lebinthos (Lebitha) and Astypalaia on the way. Therefore all the other Ægean islands which are close to the coast of continental Greece, and between Eubœa (Negrepont) and Crete, form the Cyclades.

Had the commentators of the Byzantine chronicles intended to convey the impression that they meant "Dodecanese" in the sense that we do to-day, they

¹ *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 571.

² *i. e.* To sow in the field.

would not have applied the name to the Cyclades, which would have been an exhibition of crass ignorance, but would have definitely named the Sporades, which are more remote, and in which Strabo himself includes nearly all our Dodecanese.

We used above the word *nearly* because the exact number of the islands which belong to one or other of the two groups has not always been precisely defined by ancient and modern writers, for when the Cyclades and the Sporades are touched upon, those authors are not unanimous in assigning their delimitation.

The Sporades are also divided into Northern and Southern groups. In this case the Northern Sporades, lying to the N.E. of Eubœia, are Skiathos, Scopelos, Skyros, Imbros, etc., and the Southern Sporades, lying off the S.W. of Asia Minor, embody amongst others our Dodecanese. The latter are conspicuous for being the best defence of the gulfs of Cos and of Mandelyah—so memorable in the War of Greek Independence—besides having a commanding position in the eastern Mediterranean, primarily as controlling the communications of the Ægean Sea with Constantinople, Syria and Egypt.

CHAPTER III

GEOLOGICAL FORMATION

THE geologists who examined the rock formation of the islands of the Dodecanese found a similarity between it and that of Crete, as also that of the Asiatic continent. It seems to confirm the theory that a territorial link once existed between them, which was broken by a volcanic action or earth-movement at about the same time at which other islands of the group (or parts of them) and Crete arose from the depths of the sea.

Thus Dubois,¹ writing about Cos, says that it is divided into two parts, of which the one lying towards the N.E. appears to have been once a promontory of Asia, from which it is now separated by a strait, whilst the other part, lying towards the S.W., was upheaved from below the sea by volcanic action, as also was the neighbouring island of Nisyros.

Thus also the narrow sounds which separate the islands from the mainland are explained, as also their shallow nature in comparison with the outward sides of them. The sea has entered into the valleys and recesses which sank, though the lofty parts stand above the waters in the form of islands.

The many sea-shells found at the foot of the hills and mountains and the marine fossil remains likewise contain the secret of the formation of the islands either partially or totally under the sea, from whence they were upraised by volcanic action. The earthquakes so

¹ Dubois, *De Co Insula*, p. 5.

frequent in these islands are also due to the volcanic nature of the region.

The eminent Prof. Myres, in a very interesting and instructive lecture read at the meeting of the Royal Geographical Society on the 15th of March, 1920, said : ¹

“ The geological history of the district is clear in its main outlines, though still obscure in many important details. The continental core of old crystalline rocks, with its overlaying beds of compact Cretaceous and Eocene limestones, some 10,000 feet in thickness, was folded and crushed by the great earth-movements which caused the upheaval of the Alpine, Dinaric and Tauric mountain system, and then exposed to long ages of weathering. The shore deposits, composed of débris from this, alternating with comparatively pure limestones formed in periods of deeper subsidence during the Miocene and Pliocene ages, have gradually filled the troughs among these folded mountain-ridges with a series of less compact deposits which vary greatly from place to place and from time to time. Repeated earth movements of local character have complicated the folded structure, alternately exposing these softer beds to erosion, and burying the new land surfaces thus formed under fresh deposits, usually marine, as the fossil remains show, but occasionally lacustrine, with brackish or fresh-water species. This geological condition still continues; the gulfs of the *Ægean* are accumulating marine limestones and marls, clays and sands are being spread off the larger estuaries, and fresh-water deposits in the few lake-basins which still remain in the interior of Asia Minor.”

The sea-bed round the islands is very uneven, as may be seen by a glance at the British Admiralty Chart soundings.

¹ Vol. LVI. No. 5, November 1920, p. 330.

The once existing territorial link between Asia (Minor), Dodecanese and Crete is referred to in the sayings of some geographers who considered the islands of the Dodecanese and Samos as forming a bridge from the Asiatic mainland to Crete.

CHAPTER IV

ATMOSPHERIC CONDITIONS

Climate. Hippocrates,¹ the father of medicine and an illustrious son of the Dodecanese, said that the cities that faced towards the east were the most favoured climatically. This statement is fully borne out in the Dodecanese, where the climate is not only delightful, but is generally recognised as being the finest in the whole Mediterranean.

But, of the twelve islands, Rhodes and Cos have been the two most frequently selected for praise, and chosen as places for residence by persons well known in history.

Thus the Prince of Physicians, Asclepios, whom Pluto accused of having reduced the population of Hades² by his medical skill, advised his sons and their descendants to pass their summers in Cos, an advice apparently also followed by prominent Alexandrians, as we find their names, as well as that of the ruling family of Ptolemies, amongst the visitors to the island.

Rhodes, on the other hand, is designated as the earthly abode of the Sun-god,³ and both Greek and Latin classical authors, in poetry and in prose, have exhausted their ingenuity in praising the charms and delights of its invigorating atmosphere. Alexander the Great, it is said, intended to make the island the residence of his beloved mother Olympias.

¹ *De aere*, 3 ff.

² Diodor. IV. 71, 2.

³ Pindar, *Olymp.* VII. 70.

Horace,¹ Lucan² and Martial³ are at one in praising the ravishing serenity of its sky, and Pliny⁴ is likewise entranced by the luminous canopy of the heavens, which are almost always free from clouds.

Suetonius⁵ writes that Tiberius before becoming emperor chose Rhodes as a place of recreation and repose, being captivated by the salubrity and the beauty of the island.

There are many other ancient, mediæval and modern writers who could be named amongst those who have sung of the glories and effulgence of Rhodes, but we cannot omit this saying of Lamartine,⁶ "I do not know in the whole world a more excellent strategic position, nor a more beautiful sky, nor a more smiling and fecund soil."

The islands of the Dodecanese, although bathed in almost eternal sunshine, are not visited by the oppressive summer heat felt in those countries where excessive damp prevails, nor are they ever subject to that tremendous intensity of heat which makes the tropics so enervating. Therefore it may be affirmed without any exaggeration that summer is most enjoyable and charming in the twelve islands, as it can also be stated with equal truth that winter in these islands is quite as inviting. For just as the invigorating properties of the sea breezes in the summer modify the drying effect of the heat, refresh the atmosphere, and disperse any local exhalation and miasma, so in winter, from whatever quarter the wind blows, a balmy sea breeze disperses any mists and brings a refreshing rain for laying the dust and fertilising the fields.

The usual winds which blow during the winter are

¹ *Od.* I. 7, 1.

² *VIII.* 248.

³ *IV.* 55, 6.

⁴ *Hist. Nat.* II. 62, 153.

⁵ *Tiber.* XI.

⁶ *Voyage en Orient* (*Œuvres de Lamartine*, I. vi. 152).

not violent nor unduly damp, and the gales are rare and short. The mean temperature in the Dodecanese varies between twenty-one and thirty-two degrees Centigrade during the summer, and it very rarely falls during the winter below the freezing-point.

There are some slightly differing temperatures between the islands and even within the islands themselves, and in some places the temperature is occasionally rather extreme.

The rain descends mainly in November and December and becomes less in February and March.

In winter the temperature may, for a short time, become rather cold, and a thin layer of snow may appear on the greatest heights of Atabyros, Lastos, Dikhio Vouno, etc. It may even at times be visible at a lower level, but these banks of thin snow soon disappear, because the sun's rays, even in winter, are too strong for such hints of rigour.

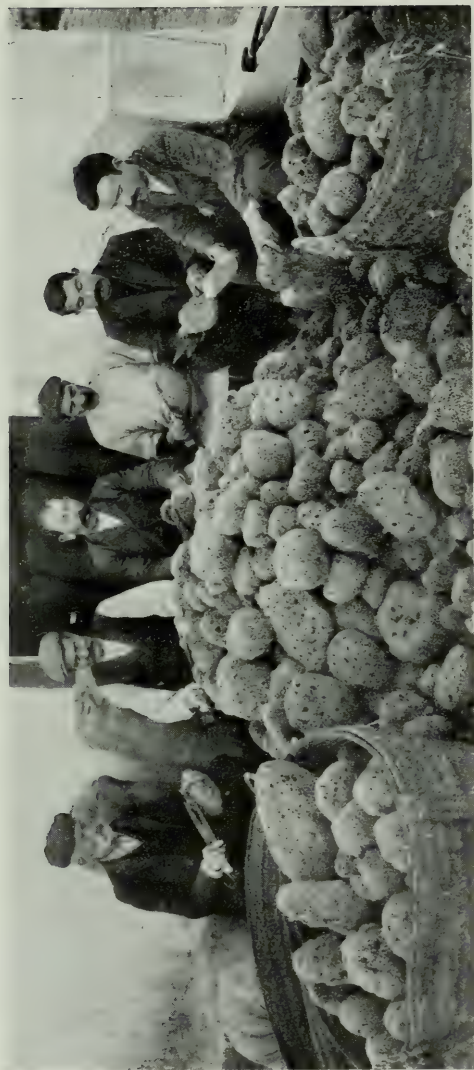
And in the valleys below, and on other agricultural land, the snow is scarcely ever seen, for even though the heights may for a short time be touched with a snowy covering, the most that reaches the lands below is rain, or possibly, if clouds are flying wildly, a slight shower of hail. Therefore there are hardly any stagnant waters or marshes, and consequently there are no fevers in the islands. The only slight exception to this rule is found in some very limited localities of Rhodes and Cos, where waters which have descended from the mountains are retained in the low parts of the valleys and do not join the sea.

On the whole, it may be said that the clearness and serenity of the atmosphere are a leading feature of the Dodecanese, and its climate during most of the year, while it stimulates activity and

SPONGE INDUSTRY IN THE DODECANESE



WASHING SPONGES IN SYMI



[By courtesy of the General Sponge Fishing Co., Ltd., in Smyrni.]

CLIPPING AND TRIMMING SPONGES IN SYMHI

keeps the people industrious and energetic, conduces to longevity.

But it is not possible in this world, it would seem, for all these blessings to be granted by a bountiful Providence without some evils accompanying them, which determine the fate of men and of peoples. The very benefits which the Dodecanese enjoyed in their sea-washed homes, where position and climate combined to bless the land, were to some extent the cause of their misfortunes. For the excellent geographical position of the Dodecanese made certain advancing empires cast their eyes in that direction and ultimately grasp at such a valuable prize.

CHAPTER V

PRODUCTS

Flora. In fertility and general appearance the islands of the Dodecanese have some resemblance to Greece. Naturally Rhodes, Cos and Leros, being less dominated by rock and having considerable areas of fertile soil, have more scope for vegetation than the other islands.

In the earliest days of antiquity, dense forests of pine and cypress covered Rhodes, Cos, Carpathos, Symi, Calymnos, and some of the other islands and islets of the group, though the plane-tree even at the present day is commonly met with along the streams of the islands. From these forests the islanders obtained all the necessary timber for their fleets, dockyards and other purposes; but the extent of the woodland has dwindled during the course of centuries, owing to foreign conquest, which resulted in large quantities of wood being taken away for various uses, and also because the islanders themselves were compelled to dispose of the timber abroad in order to obtain a livelihood, this having become virtually impossible on account of the piracy, which under the Turkish ascendancy in the Archipelago grew to monstrous proportions.

The remaining stretches of forest are principally found on the heights and slopes of the islands, and one can still see the configuration of the regions where these extensive woodlands stood.

But in the islands there also existed a broad acreage of arable land which, largely cultivated, has always produced many fruits of the soil. These were used

SPONGE INDUSTRY IN THE DODECANESE



[By courtesy of the General Sponge Fishing Co., Ltd., in Smyr.]

PACKING SPONGES



chiefly for home consumption, but an export trade was also carried on when the harvest was sufficiently abundant to allow of it.

The most fertile fields were to be found in Rhodes and Cos, but, as mentioned previously, there are also fertile valleys in the other islands.

From the distant past we find that the fruits and vegetables which these islands produced were generally of a similar nature and of an excellent character. Athenaios,¹ speaking of some of these productions, says that they rivalled those of Attica. He even describes a special bread in Rhodes as matchless. This bread was known under the name of ἐσχαρίτης (hearth-loaf), and it is reputed to have been a great antidote to insobriety, by restoring the inebriate rapidly to mental lucidity, and furthermore it had the merit of exciting the appetite of a gastronome, even when he had eaten of savoury dishes to satiety. It would seem a pity that the Roman Emperor Vitellius, given to feasting as he was, had not perused the work of Athenaios, who so aptly writes about the pleasures of the table!

Turning now to the fruits of the Dodecanese, which were very fine because of the purity of the air, we find amongst the most conspicuous, grapes, oranges, lemons, figs, almonds, peaches, apricots, melons, pomegranates, pears, apples, olives, etc., and all the lesser products of the kitchen garden, amongst which is the lettuce of Cos, so well known in England.

Besides cereals and tobacco, most of these productions are found throughout all the twelve islands, and they abound according to the amount of suitable soil for growing them. But though the islands have thus a similarity in the nature of their productions, there

¹ III. 74.

are also some idiosyncrasies which prevail locally in the group and amount to a distinction which is worthy of note, more particularly because some of these growths are associated with illustrious or religious names. Such is the so-called plane-tree of the physician Hippocrates in Cos, which overshadows a widespread piece of soil with its branches, and has a trunk-circumference of about thirty feet, as also the cypress of St. Michael in Symi, which with its drooping and widely extended branches is capable of covering, like an umbrella, about a hundred people.

The ancient writers who touch on the subject of the twelve islands speak in high terms of the value of their products. Thus, for example, the wines of Rhodes are praised by Virgil as fit for the feasts of gods, whilst others discriminated between the white and red, finding the former more intoxicating in its tendency, of a golden hue, and excellent in its way, and the latter less powerful as a stimulant, yet exquisite in its aroma. Strabo and Pliny both describe the wines of Cos as excellent and second to none.

The latter,¹ giving details, adds that the Coans had the habit of mixing sea-water in large quantities with their wines, a practice they learned from a slave who, with a view to making up for the deficiency due to his thievish propensities, had adopted this method of pouring salt water into the jars of wine under his care. So this kind of sea-water wine (in Greek *τεθαλαππωμένος*) came into general use, and Athenaios² writing of it says that the Rhodian wine will not mix so well with water as does the Coan, which he finds less intoxicating and having qualities of a digestive and laxative nature.

The Romans greatly appreciated this Coan wine,

¹ XIV. 10, 77.

² I. 32, 59.

and Cato gave the prescription for its production in Italy, as he did not like to see Roman money passing to Greece for its purchase. But this attempt to divert trade proved a failure.

In favour of the excellent qualities of the Coan wines, a modern writer points out that the letters which compose the word *Cos* are descriptive of the nature of her wines, as "C" stands for colour, "O" for odour, and "S" for savour.

Buondelmonti¹ also states that a splendid wine was produced at Symi, and, in fact, a wine not unlike that of Madeira is still made there.

The beauty of the flowers, especially those of Rhodes, is worthy of note. Many of these are singularly luxurious in their development, and add charm to the general colour and brilliancy of the twelve sisters of the *Ægean*.

The cultivation of flowers is ardently pursued in all the Dodecanese, and it may be remarked that floral porch and window-dressing is very general, even in the arid and rocky localities.

The ancient writers tell us also of other natural growths from the soil of these regions. Amongst these are the aloe, cultivated at Leros, the unguents of Telos, and the thorny arbutus, which, under its name of *erysisceptrum*, existed at Nisyros and in Rhodes and was considered a remedy for certain maladies. All these were much appreciated in bygone days.

Before concluding the subject of Dodecanesian vegetation, mention must be made of the fabulous and unrivalled fecundity of the soil of Chalki, as reported by Theophrastos. He writes: "There at Melos they have apparently thirty or forty days after sowing,

¹ p. 30.

wherefore is a saying of those islanders that one should go on sowing till one sees the sheaves. . . . However, it is said that pulses in their country do not grow like this, nor are they abundant. Yet they say that the soil is wonderfully fertile, for it is good both for corn and for olives. . . . What happens in Chalki (a city of the Rhodians), however, goes beyond this, for they say that there is a spot there which is so exceedingly fertile that crops mature very early, and as soon as one crop has been reaped another can be sown, and two or more harvests are thus gathered in one year."

Fauna. The fauna of the Dodecanese is nearly identical with that found throughout the Greek archipelago.

Flocks of sheep, herds of cattle, and many goats are to be seen on all sides and in all the islands, though in some there are more than in others. Dairy produce is in all respects excellent, and amongst these articles the butter of Symi and Casos, the thin cheeses of Cos, and the wool of Carpathos and of Cos are deserving of special mention.

Amongst the animals which may be noticed are the deer in Rhodes and the hares in Carpathos. To this day Carpathos is celebrated for its hares, whilst a tradition informs us that though formerly there were none in the island, when once introduced they multiplied at such a rate that they menaced the food supply of the people. This led to drastic measures for remedying the evil and gave rise to an expression, "The hare of Carpathos."

In this connection it is worthy of mention that Astypalaia during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas¹ had to appeal to the Delphian oracle for advice as to how best to get rid of a superfluity of hares. The Pythia

¹ Athenaios, IX. 63.



CLIPPING, TRIMMING AND PACKING SPONGES AT CALAMYNOS

[By courtesy of N. Vourvitis Co.]

answered: "Breed dogs and hunt them," and the result was that in one year more than six thousand hares were caught.

With regard to the birds, we find that, despite what Pliny says to the contrary, the eagle is not unknown there. In this connection one may recall the incident relating to Tiberius, when he was living in Rhodes. An eagle perched on the gable of his residence, shortly before the news arrived calling him to ascend the throne of the Cæsars.

Leros is famous for its guinea-fowl, which, as we have seen, connect the island with the legend and tragedy of Meleager, and Symi is noted for its quarrelsome partridges, which twitter and flutter around its slope.

Pugnacity also has been the leading characteristic of the cocks of the Dodecanese, and cock-fights were common events in Rhodes, as once in England.

The bee takes a leading part in the insect life of the islands, and therefore it naturally follows that honey has been one of their staple products. Furthermore, its quality has been recognised as of great excellence throughout the centuries. Thus Strabo¹ tells us that the honey of these islands is of the best, and rivals that of Attica, particularly in the case of Calymna. Even to-day the honey of that island, as well as the honey of Casos and Symi, remains very excellent.

Another salient feature in the Dodecanese has been the silkworm, which was greatly cultivated in antiquity at Cos. Aristotle² relates that the discoverer of the application of this insect for human utility was a woman and a native of Cos, named Pamphile. Pliny³ also refers to the silkworm of Cos, and gives the name of the same woman as originator of the silk industry. Ancient writers state that the Coan silken vestments were much

¹ X. v. 19.

² *Hist. Anim.* V. 20, 6.

³ *Hist. Nat.* XI. 26, 27.

favoured by the Roman ladies, but when men also adopted the use of silk for their dress, which was found very suitable in summer, decrees were issued by the senate prohibiting the use of silk by the male sex. The decrees, however, were futile, and even emperors adopted this material for their garments.

A very celebrated product of the Dodecanese is the mussel, which the ancients seem to have greatly appreciated, especially those of Astypalaia, which according to Pliny were not only the best in the world as food, but were also very highly valued as a cure for illnesses connected with the throat.

Various species of excellent fish and of molluscs and shell-fish abound in the proximity of the twelve islands, a fact to which the ancient writers refer. Thus Ovid ¹ wrote: "Astypalaia, surrounded with its fishy shallows." Athenaios ² notes the praises given to the Rhodian anchovies (ἀφύαι), and adds that it is better to lose life itself than deprive oneself of the delicious flesh of the Rhodian fox-shark (γαλέος ἀλώπηξ).

Helops also was a Rhodian fish, described by Pliny as equal to the very few fish considered by the Romans to be among the best in the world.³ But of all the fish renowned in these waters the scaros was the most celebrated in antiquity, especially that of Carpathos.

Known to the old Romans, who ineffectually tried to breed it in Italian waters, it adorned the tables of Lucullus and the other wealthy citizens of the empire.

Likewise the coral which clusters round the sunken reefs of Carpathos was very much sought after. The crayfish, lobsters, oysters and scallops of Chalki are greatly in demand even at the present day, and their presence in the neighbourhood explains the name of the island, which signifies a shell-fish locality.⁴ Leipsos is

¹ *Ars. Amat.* II. 82.

² VII. 24.

³ Cf. Aul. Gell. VI. 16, 5.

⁴ Myres, *The Geographical Journal*, LVI. No. 5, p. 335.



By courtesy of the International Sponge Importers, Ltd., Crosskill Bros.

DODECANESIAN SPONGES EXHIBITED IN A LONDON WAREHOUSE

known for its octopus, whilst the purple found in the shells was from the sea around Cos and Nisyros, and was used in the dyes of the silks, in which there was a great traffic throughout the Mediterranean.

Finally, sponges were always abundant in great beds in the Dodecanesian seas, and diving for them has maintained a considerable seafaring population at Symi. During the Middle Ages Venice became the centre of the sponge distribution (a position now occupied by London and Paris), and for this reason sponges bore the name of Venice or Venetia. This industry, which had been for past ages characteristic of Symi, in course of time spread also to Calymnos and Chalki; and the divers, having exhausted the beds of sponges in the region of the Dodecanese, have been obliged to seek sponges further off in such places as Egypt, Syria, Crete, Cyprus, Tripolis and elsewhere.

Minerals. The rocky and largely volcanic character of the twelve islands makes metals available to the islanders, but it also arouses the belief that there must be more mineral wealth to be discovered, such as copper, antimony, manganese, etc.

Amongst present assets are the iron and silver mines already found at Carpathos, the marble quarries and pottery clay of Rhodes and Cos, the gypsum quarries of Carpathos and Casas, and the hot curative sulphurous spring of Nisyros.

The marble of Cos is still admired, and it is interesting to note that it was this marble which was used in the construction of the Asclepieion.

Besides this each island is provided with stone useful for construction and other purposes.

The millstone and the pumice-stone of Nisyros have been well known throughout the centuries.

PART II

HISTORY OF THE DODECANESE

CHAPTER I

THE MYTHICAL AGE

The earliest inhabitants.—The question respecting the origin of the earliest inhabitants of the twelve islands is a vexed one, as is also that of the ethnology of all the Hellenic peoples.

The difficulty arises from our lack of written evidence, so that we are obliged to glean from a mass of legendary lore, which leaves everything vague and uncertain, and to rely on what poets and artists, inspired by popular traditions, have handed down to us.

But even when we get information from classical historians, as Thucydides, Herodotos, etc., we find no better basis for a convincing theory of origin, because the arguments of these historians are frequently contradictory and are drawn from unreliable and fantastic legends or from limited archæological revelations.

It is therefore to the discoveries which began to be made during the last century in continental and insular Greece that we must turn to obtain any facts of permanent value. From these we can manage to draw up a general historical record about the early history of the inhabitants of the Dodecanese and a foundation for chronology, without professing to give a complete solution of an enigma which may remain unsolved.

Examining further every other source capable of throwing light on this complex matter, we are obliged at first to confine ourselves prudently to the mere outlines of the legends, which are characteristic of these islands and reveal their childhood. In general, they give us a slight glimpse of the nature of the unknown primitive human beings in the Dodecanese, of the inmost soul of its people, and of that which inspired them to action with their kinsmen on the borderland of history.

But it is essential to remember that when we begin to open the history of the twelve islands, the largest of this group, Rhodes, had also the ascendancy in all ways amongst them, which caused her to assume nearly complete political control of the others and people them with her own seed.

For this reason, there are but few salient features recorded about her eleven sister isles in their historical development, with the exception of Cos, which island at times completely ruled her own destiny and that of some of her smaller neighbours. Therefore Pliny is justified when he enumerates as islands of the Rhodians, Carpathos, Casos, Symi, Nisyros, etc. These islands may have possessed their own individuality and idiosyncrasies, and may have lived a life somewhat detached, as regards internal government, but in their political relations with other peoples they acted almost always either as an integral part of the Rhodian Commonwealth, or in union with, and under the name of, Rhodes. Therefore their fate was generally involved with hers.

Here and there, indeed, we get a glimpse of their individuality through the haze of the centuries. They are but faintly recorded, it is true, in the annals of history, but that does not show that they had no story of their own to tell nor that they were non-existent, or

void. If their respective archives are not so numerous as those of Rhodes or even of Cos, their stones and other discoveries speak for them, as was revealed in the case of Astypalaia, Nisyros, Telos, Calymnos and Symi. Therefore, from this fact there is much reason to hope that before long, when freedom shall spread its wings over these islands, there will be many discoveries which, by casting fuller light on the great scenes of their past, will prove of the utmost value to historians.

The place which Rhodes occupied in the south-eastern waters of Europe is very similar in importance and beneficence to that of other prominent islands or maritime powers. Some of them are in other seas and were conspicuous at other periods, and all owed their widespread influence and power to the sea.

One readily recalls many similar island states, both in antiquity and in modern times, which, though in themselves small in area, have affected, and at times almost dominated, the political life of whole continents.

In the past, Crete, Sicily, Venice immediately occur to the mind. In modern times, Japan and Britain are visible instances of a like nature.

The great influence of Rhodes was not due to her territorial size (for there were other and larger islands not far away), but to her geographical position between three continents, and to the discipline and skilled devotion of her seafaring population, which aroused the admiration of all Mediterranean peoples for Rhodian seamanship and civilisation. Thus Cicero¹ writes: "Rhodiorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit."

Legendary migrations of peoples towards Rhodes. According to the ancient legends, there were originally

¹ *De imper. Gn. Pomp.* 18 (54).

two races inhabiting Rhodes. One is the Telchines, from whom was derived a name of Rhodes, Telchinis, and the other the Heliadai, the children of Helios, the sun-god, and of a nymph, or according to others a heroine, named Rhodos or Rhodē.

These Telchines, a race very remote from us in time, were, according to Strabo,¹ in close contact with the sea-gods, and celebrated as artistic workers in iron and bronze and as makers of Saturn's scythe, whilst other writers, following the statements of jealous calumniators, describe them as charmers and enchanters, who destroyed animals and plants by sprinkling them with the water of the Styx mixed with sulphur.

The Heliadai, seven in number, according to legendary accounts, as Strabo again reminds us, are reported to have occupied the island of Rhodes after the Telchines, and to have been blessed with wealth and with dexterity in handicraft.

But from another point of view, the mist of legendary tradition about the movement of the Telchines, connecting the first inhabitants of Rhodes with those of Cyprus and Crete, places these three Greek regions in the van of Hellenic civilisation during the early pre-historic times, and suggests that they were a centre of industry, art and maritime enterprise.

Furthermore, it gives us good ground for assuming that the Telchines formed a colony which came from Asia Minor, and their movement associates them with the primitive inhabitants of these islands, though, on the other hand, there was an indigenous population inhabiting Rhodes before them, who possessed a knowledge of art and industry, improved by the skilful craft of the Telchines.

¹ XIV. 2, 7.

Thus we may come to the belief that there were autochthones in Rhodes, as in Attica and Arcadia, who probably represent the Neolithic era. This is a theory adumbrated by Diodoros on data gathered from Rhodian chronicles, but as this historian had not fully digested his facts, it would be premature to take a definite decision in this matter until more light has been cast upon it.

At the far-off time of this settlement, it is believed that the great cataclysm occurred which changed much in the Mediterranean region, tore the bed of the sea, and somewhat transfigured many of the islands, and a deep impression must have been left on the minds of men. This disaster apparently removed considerable life from Rhodes, besides destroying its town Kyrbe, as recorded. This sinister catastrophe is regarded in the legends of Rhodes as a punishment of the Telchines by their father Neptune, because, when made mad by Aphrodite, they had committed a frightful offence on their mother Halia. But these legends were probably attempts to explain the addition of a new settlement to the population of the island, such as, at this time, is the case of the Heliadai.

Professor Myres very ingeniously suggested to me that these ancient Greek stories are derived either from geological facts or from successive additions to the local inhabitants, for which a natural cause was thought necessary.

After the appearance in these islands of the Heliadai, the offspring of Kercaphos (one of the family) and his wife Kydippe founded the three cities which were called after their names, Lindos, Ialysos and Cameiros; and they increased the wealth and status of the islanders.

The excavations carried on at Rhodes, particularly

at Ialysos, as also in Calymna and Carpathos, have revealed a civilisation which presents a great resemblance to that known to have existed in Cnossos, Troy, Thera, Mykenai, Tiryns and Spata, and shows an increasing progress in the indigenous artistic production, as also a certain foreign influence; it is dated about the fourteenth century B.C.¹

These discoveries, besides anthropological revelations made in many places of the Hellenic world, show the nature of the races which lived there. Further echoes of the strong participation of the islanders in the remote evolution of Hellenism under the progressive influence of Eastern culture, reach us in the name of the town in Rhodes called Achaia ('Αχαΐα), which may recall the advent of the Achæans, who figured so conspicuously in prehistoric Greece, nor need any importance be attached to the suggestion, made by some writers, that the word is Semitic.

Then again there are the interesting stories of the Leleges, the Carians in the Asiatic mainland, whose adventurous character drew them to Rhodes and the other islands of the Ægean Sea at an obscure date in the history of humanity.

We have the happy stories attaching to Cadmos and Danaos, who, wandering from their native soil, disembarked at Rhodes before proceeding to the cities of continental Greece, Thebes and Argos.

Many of those who were attracted by the charm of the islands remained there, and with others who followed increased the population. This was so in the case of Ialysos, Cameiros and some neighbouring islands.

A permanent remembrance of the presence of Danaos with his daughters at Rhodes is traceable in the legend

¹ W. Ridgeway, *The Early Age*, p. 58.

that the founding of the three historic cities dates from him, and the names of these were identical with those of three of his daughters ¹ who died there.

Some have thought that evidence of the existence of such settlements likewise lurks in traits of the religion of the land, with the worship of Poseidon at Ialysos,² which they too hastily attributed to Phœnician origin, as they also did in the case of the nomenclature of some of the islands.

Noteworthy, too, is the legend in connection with this migration, that, when Danaos approached Rhodes, the first ship to come with him was the *Penticontoros*, which came to Greece from Egypt. This suggests that the art of shipbuilding in the Ægean, and later in Greece,³ had its origin in Egypt.

The Phœnician colonists did not stop long in the Dodecanese. The latest archæological discoveries show that the Ægean peoples were already so skilled in sea-faring and so apt in commerce that the Phœnicians gained nothing by stopping there. Beyond this, we have the legend that the Phœnicians at Ialysos were obliged to leave Rhodes on account of the pressure of a pre-Hellenic colony, which came to the island under Iphiclos, whose stratagem for taking Ialysos proved successful. This is described by Athenaios,⁴ based on Rhodian chroniclers, as follows:—

“Ergeias the Rhodian, in his account of his own country having first made mention of the Phœnicians, who inhabited the island, says that Phalanthos and his friends, having a very strong city in Ialysos, called Achaia, and being very economising of their supplies, held out for a long

¹ Strabo, XIV. 2, 8.

² Diódor. V. 58.

³ See also M. R. Dussaud, *Les Civilisations préhelléniques*, p. 418.

⁴ VIII. 61.

time against Iphiclos, who besieged them. For they had also a prophecy, given them by an oracle, that they should keep the place till crows became white and fish were seen in their goblets.

“Therefore, expecting that these things would never happen, they prosecuted the war with less vigour. But Iphiclos, having been informed of the oracles of the Phœnicians, waylaid a trusted adherent of Phalanthos, whose name was Larcas, as he was going for water, and having entered into understanding with him, caught some fish at the spring, and putting them into the ewer, gave them to Larcas and bade him, after carrying this water back, to pour it into the goblet from which he was used to pour out wine to Phalanthos. And he did so. And Iphiclos also caught some crows and let them fly again after he had smeared them over with gypsum.

“But when Phalanthos saw the crows, he went also to the goblet, and when he likewise saw the fish there, he considered that the place no longer belonged to them, and so he sent a herald to Iphiclos, demanding permission to retire with all his people under the protection of a treaty.

“But when Iphiclos agreed to this, Phalanthos devised the following contrivance. Having slain some victims and taken out the entrails, he endeavoured to put in these bellies some silver and gold, and so to carry it away. But when Iphiclos perceived this, he prevented it. And when Phalanthos alleged against him the oath which he had taken, when he swore to allow them to take away whatever they had in their bellies, he met them with a counter device, giving them vessels in which to go away, but removing the rudders, the oars and the sails, saying that he had sworn to give them boats and nothing further.

“And as the Phœnicians were in a state of anxiety, they buried a great deal of their riches underground, marking the places where they buried

it, that at some future time they might come and take it up again, and they left a great deal for Iphiclos.

“And so, when the Phœnicians had left the place in this way, the Greeks became master of it.”

And Polyzelos (another Rhodian) who gave the same account in his history of Rhodian affairs, says that :—

“The only people who knew the secret about the fishes and the crows were Phacas and his daughter Dorkia. And she, being in love with Iphiclos, and having come to an agreement to marry him through the intervention of her nurse, persuaded the man who brought the water to bring fishes and put them into the goblet, and she herself white-washed the crows and let them go.”

Other streams of prehistoric Greeks or Pelasgians, as the ancient writers and some modern archæologists, such as Ridgeway, name them,¹ continued, according to the legendary tales, to enter Rhodes, to the joy of their native brothers. From this event we gather that the migration of these races to Rhodes came gradually and not at once; in this resembling the invasion of Dorians and Æolians into the rest of Greece, and of the Angles and Saxons into Britain.

Thus, according to legend, Phorbas came from Thessaly, with many followers, and freed the island of its plague of huge serpents. Althaemenes, son of the king of Crete,² established a Cretan colony, hoping in vain that his absence from Crete would prevent him from committing a patricide, as the Delphic oracle had foretold he would do. Perhaps this migration, as also the events related in the previous stories of Danaos, Cadmos and the other settlers, can be considered, in accordance with the most modern opinions, as part of

¹ *The Early Age*, p. 682 and elsewhere.

² Apollod. III. 2, 2, 2.

the founding of colonies by Minoans on Greek sites, which had begun from 1400 B.C., and which coincides with the appearance of the Achæans in the pages of history; this seems proven by archæological discoveries. Furthermore, these colonisations might be taken as a sign of the Cretan thalassocracy (naval supremacy) in the Ægean, before which the Carians withdrew from their insular position to the mainland.

Other Pelasgian colonies entered the island of Rhodes. One large group, composed of Argives and Athenians, was led by Tlepolemos, the son of Heracles and Astyocheia, who was obliged to fly from Argos, as he had slain his father's highly cherished and aged uncle Likymnios. Tlepolemos came to Rhodes with many ships by command of the Lord of the Golden Hair at Delphi; and it appears that he rebuilt and strengthened the three cities of the island and peopled them with his followers, who were divided according to their kinship, and saw great prosperity and much good friendship.

Owing to these facts, some people have been induced to think that Tlepolemos was the founder of the Rhodian cities, though he was only the rebuilders.

This is the light we get from the legends, supported in many cases by the discoveries of archæology in Rhodes, and these were its earliest inhabitants during the Neolithic, Minoan and Mycenean era, and a little before the breaking out of the Trojan war.

Legends about colonists in the other islands. Many and charming legends also relate to the inhabitants of Cos and the other islands during these prehistoric times, and they suggest names of first colonisers and groups of tribes. But as the discoveries of archæology connected with this period are so far few, and the legends and writings of the ancients are likewise rare, it is not

easy to obtain other results than that their first inhabitants belonged to the same branch of races as those of Rhodes.

Thus, Diodoros records that Minos at the time of his supremacy at sea took possession of Carpathos, an island which, as we saw, was the birthplace and cradle of the Titans, who waged war against Zeus, who saw the light first in Crete. The birthplace of these gods, and their reign at Chalki, and other data, show perhaps that Greek theology originated in the Ægean waters, while the reported war is possibly suggestive of the most distant history of warfare between two maritime peoples of that remote age.

From the same source we learn that the first people who inhabited Symi were those who came with Triopas, one of the Heliadai of Rhodes, under the leadership of Chthonios, the son of Neptune, and we hear likewise that Nireus, the son of Charopos and Aglaia, was, in after times, king of this island.

The same author states that the Carians took possession of the island after the conclusion of the Trojan war, and at a time when they held the mastery of the sea,¹ which is an evident mistake, because they had long since lost it. Stephanos of Byzantium and Eustathios also call the island Carian, apparently misled by their predecessor.

Diodoros likewise mentions that the Carians anciently possessed Nisyros and Calymnos, and that afterwards Thessalos, the son of Heracles, was lord of both these islands. Therefore, his sons Antiphos and Phidippos, kings of Cos, during the Trojan war were generals of the forces which were sent out of these three places under their rule.

¹ V. 53.

Strabo also, referring to the earliest inhabitants of Cos, states that the island was occupied by a Carian population, and points out that the names of the leaders of the island during the Trojan war were either Pelasgian or Æolian. Stephanos of Byzantium, writing of the same islands, states that a colony of Pelasgians from Thessaly came to Cos under the leadership of Merops, a son of the Heliades Triopas.

But bearing in mind what Diodoros says about the colonisation of the Ægean islands by Cretans during the ascendancy of the maritime empire of Minos, the king of Crete, and about Radamanthys, sent as ruler of the islands lying towards Caria and Ionia, we gather that the islands of the Dodecanese got rid of the Carians owing to the activity of the Minoan navy.

The Dodecanese and the Trojan war. The affinity of race between the Rhodians and the neighbouring islanders and the rest of Greece, before the Trojan war, joined them together very easily under Agamemnon against Troy; and they took a large part in the famous siege, which is the great national enterprise of the Mycenean Hellenic people.

The immortal Homer voices in his matchless way the share the islanders had in this struggle.¹ He wrote thus about Rhodes:—

“Telemus Heraclides, right strong and highly made,
Brought nine tall ships of war from Rhodes, which haughty Rhodians mann’d,
Who dwelt in three dissever’d parts of that most pleasant land,
Which Lindus and Ialysus were, and bright Camirus call’d—
Telemus commanded these, in battle unappall’d.”²

He sings further about Symi:—

“Nireus three well-trimmed ships from Syme brought;
Nireus, to Charops whom Aglaia bore;
Nireus, the godliest man of all the Greeks
Who came to Troy, save Peleus’ matchless son;
But scant his fame, and few the troops he led.”³

¹ *Iliad*, II. 653–680.

² Chapman’s translation.

³ Derby’s translation.

And he writes about the other islands :—

“ Next thirty galleys cleave the liquid plain,
Of those Calydnæ's sea-girt isles contain ;
With them the youth of Nisyros repair,
Casus the strong, and Crapathus the fair ;
Cos, whose Eurypylus possessed the sway,
Till great Alcides made the realms obey :
These Antiphus and bold Phidippus bring,
Sprang from the god by Thessalus the king.” ¹

As we know from the poems of the Trojan war, the Dodecanesian leader Tlepolemos fell in personal combat with Sarpedon, son of Zeus, and Nireus was killed by the Mysian hero Eurypylos.

We also gather that the dislike between Tlepolemos and Sarpedon was due to the alienation that existed between their peoples, the Rhodians and the Lycians, on the ground of commercial rivalry, as is well set forth by Robert and recently by Leaf.²

The Rhodians at that time were the greatest navigators of that prehistoric age in the Ægean Sea, and a commercial people ; but the Lycians infested their seas as pirates, this being a chronic practice with them, as can be seen from three letters of the series from El-Amarna, the capital of Amenophis IV., and they even received the full support of Troy.³

The Rhodians asked for the assistance of their kinsmen, the Achæans, who at that time, according to Homer, were the most powerful people in Greece.

Thus the legendary and glorious siege of Troy does not appear to have been started for the loveliness of Helen, but for the more prosaic motive of economic advantage, as do nearly all wars.

The principal reason which inspired the conflict was that all Achæans wished to support the policy of Rhodes towards Troy, which, acting in favour of the Lycians, neighbours and piratical rivals of Rhodes, raised the

¹ Pope's translation. ² *Troy*, p. 321. ³ Dussaud, *Les civil. préh.* p. 420.

question of the freedom of the straits of Hellespont, by closing them to the islanders, and thereby to the whole maritime Greek world, and to commerce with the Black Sea.

The triumph of united prehistoric Greece in the plains of Troy confirmed the fears of the Lycians, because we gather from traditions that the end of the war gave the Rhodians the thalassocracy, and delivered a crushing blow to the Lycian trade and their illicit traffic.

Further migrations.—The Trojan war having come to a conclusion with the disappearance of Troy from the world, the consequent reaction from the struggle led to a general unrest throughout Greece, as is revealed to us by the drift of peoples from the north to the south, and also by the movements in Asia Minor.

As is natural, the Dodecanesians who participated in the Trojan war described the charms of their native land to their comrades of the mainland, thereby enlarging the geographical knowledge of the latter. Thus they were the means of inducing many people to migrate in that direction, and this all helped to increase the volume of prehistoric colonisation of Rhodes and her sister islands.

The Dorian invasion, which is such a conspicuous traditional feature in the history of Greece, and which has been disputed by Professor Beloch, still holds the field, and in the memory of these insular populations it has been kept green by their tradition from generation to generation.

We are told by them that a second Althaemenes, a grandson of King Temenos of Argos, being directed by an oracle to seek Jupiter and the Sun and to settle in the land which had them as its patrons, went thither

with many followers. Thus he approached Crete first, made offerings to Zeus, and put ashore a part of his people, but with the remainder he proceeded to Rhodes, the home of Helios, where he landed, occupying the three cities and enlarging them with his Dorian partisans, a fact of which the Rhodians are greatly proud, as it shows that they derive their blood from Argos. The same chieftain proceeded to Cos and made it his, as also Cnidos and Halicarnassos. But all the inhabitants of the Dodecanese with reason claimed the same descent from Dorian blood. We read that Ioclos, the son of Thymoleon of Argos, in obedience to an oracle, brought over a colony to Carpathos.

Lacedæmonians and Argives united with Cnidians and Rhodians are said to have settled in Symi. Argive followers of Agamemnon in four ships are reported to have been cast on the shores of Calydna by a storm, and subsequently intermixed with the other islanders. To this population, as also in Nisyros, Coans were added, and later Rhodians, though there is a further statement by Herodotos that the inhabitants of these islands were Dorians from Epidaurus, as likewise were the inhabitants of Astypalaia.¹

By Dorians from the mainland likewise were colonised Telos, Leros, Lepsia and Patmos, though Chalki was peopled from Rhodes and Cases from Cos and later from Rhodes. Leros and Patmos had received, besides Dorians, some Ionian colonists. For this reason we read in the Athenian quota, *Milesioi Lerioi*, as the Ionian settlers in Leros were from Miletos.

Conclusion. Professor Myres,² writing about the pre-historic inhabitants of Greece, states that historical

¹ Cavvadias, *Fouil. d'Epid.* I. p. 73, §§ 12, *inscr.* No. 233.

² *The Dawn of Hist.*, p. 216.



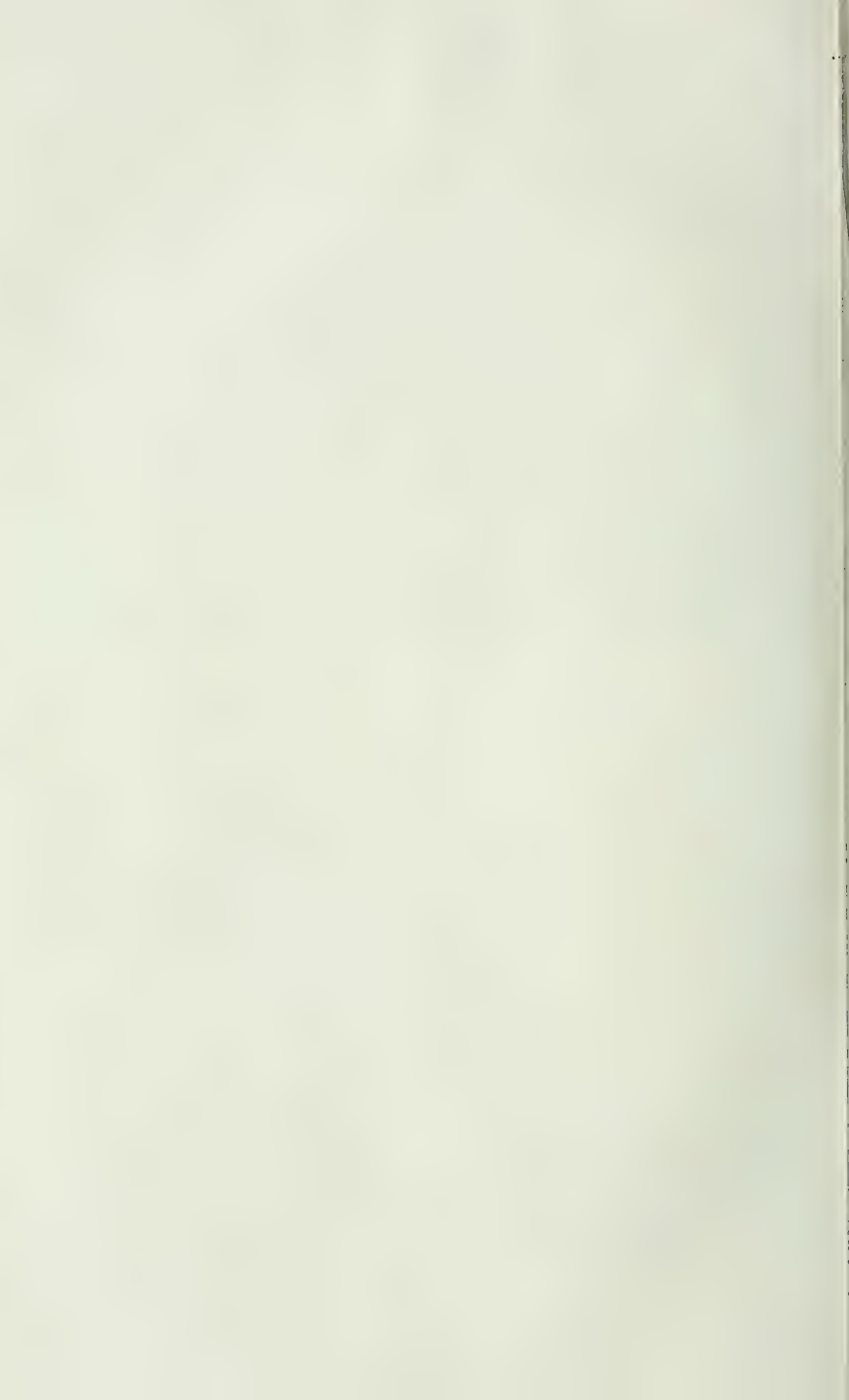
[Photo by Chaviaras]

PONTICOCASTRON, THE OLDEST FORTRESS IN SYMI



[Photo by D. Chaviaras, from Ross. Arch. Zeitung, 1850, pl. 13.]

TUMULUS IN SYMI, COMMONLY CALLED "TROPAION"



evidence so far shows that the Greeks were the product of an intense fusion of peoples. Such a description might well apply, too, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Dodecanese, taking into account all the data we have just considered regarding the ethnology of the Dodecanese, which show that the various early settlers in the different islands fused harmoniously and completely with the native population. Therefore even their immediate descendants could not point out as ancestors other types than that of the Hellenic race.

The feeble ray of historic light granted to us by all the records and legends quoted, at least makes the salient fact clear that all the earliest and later peoples of those islands were of the same blood as the other Greeks, whether they were of Crete or Peloponnesos or Attica, and that they united their efforts to build the bright primary European civilisation. Owing to this reason, when the Dorian invasion came to Greece and was extended to the islands, the peoples of the latter received the Dorian colonists amicably, as brothers in race, and they styled themselves Dorians. All the previous inhabitants or settlers of the Ægean islands had been included in that name, amongst which there might have been some Carians and Phœnicians, because, as has been stated, the position of the Dodecanese was such that many nations were probably thrown upon it like waves upon its shores. With this communion of spirit, the Dodecanesians always did their share towards the prosperity and development of Hellenic life, culture and colonisation, blending their history and endeavours with that of all the Greeks in all times.

CHAPTER II

PRE-ARCHAIC (1000–700 B.C.) AND ARCHAIC (700–525 B.C.) AGES

Dorian invasion (1000–900? B.C.). The historians, speaking about the wave of the Dorian invasion, state that it swept over the soil of Greece, dragging with it the Achæan principalities and stamping the period as that of the middle age of the early Hellenic peoples.

Likewise, all the writers who have dealt with the history of Rhodes, of Cos, and of their neighbouring islands, suggest that there was much obscurity at the time; some of them almost ignore the period from the twelfth to the seventh century B.C., and others leap over it entirely.

Development and prosperity. But from the little light we receive from some ancient writers, and from the results of archæology and the study of numismatics, we may assume that at this period these Ægean islands were in a prosperous condition and maintained for many centuries the thalassocracy which Rhodes, as we noticed, had obtained after the Trojan war.

The discoveries in tombs at Rhodes of ceramic art dating from the third Mycenaean period down to the eighth century B.C., and the noticeable Orientalising tendency of the arts during the later century, reveal that this people was not backward either in art or industry.

Further visible confirmation of this very ancient Dodecanesian activity can be found in the trade which these islands, under the name of Rhodes, carried on

with the neighbouring countries, with Euxine, as well as with Africa, Italy and Spain.

Crossing the Mediterranean diagonally, the islanders were in rivalry with the energetic Phœnicians, whose trade ran over the same routes; but in this competition they succeeded, not only in maintaining their ascendancy, but also in pushing their opponents out of the market and in inducing other Greeks to follow the old Minoan route through the Dodecanesian islands, whose geographical position between Egypt, Asia Minor and Greece made them a great social and commercial centre and an emporium of wealth. This seafaring enterprise developed a prosperity which became so enormous that it seems to have verified the prophecy of legend and the oracle of the Sibyl, that Rhodes would have a great future on the sea.

A significant feature of the genius of this people for the sea, and its fearless enterprise on the water, might be seen in the saying, "Ten Rhodians, ten ships," and in the incident of a Rhodian captain, who on his sinking ship exclaimed: "Thou seest, O Poseidon, that I am sending the ship in a sea-worthy condition."¹

Another upshot of this vast and daring maritime and commercial undertaking was the increase of population and the foundation of colonies in their own neighbourhood, such as at Carpathos, Chalki, Symi, Nisyros, Caria, Lycia, and, further still, in Cilicia, Egypt, Italy, Sicily, in the islands of Lipara, in Spain and on the Thracian shore of the Black Sea.

The Greek spirit and sentiment that animated the Rhodians caused them to take as comrades in the foundation of these colonies other Dodecanesians or other Hellenes, especially Cretans, whom they inspired with their own activity.

¹ Aristeid. *Rhodiac.* p. 346.

Strabo states that the Rhodians, not only from the foundation of the city of Rhodes, but many years before the institution of the Olympiads (776 B.C.), sailed far away from home waters to save men.

This custom gave them the opportunity for suppressing the pirates, especially the Tyrrenians, and for acquiring knowledge of foreign peoples, and spreading the spirit of Hellenism. And, moreover, this custom so permeated their nature that it was inalienable from them. Therefore, it was officially recognised and yearly practised even when the Rhodians had lost their autonomy. But in this latter case the islanders sent their ships, not so far as the Atlantic, but only to Corinth. Indeed, the Dodecanesians may be described in accordance with legend and tradition as an amphibious people born in the sea. These chivalrous characteristics of the early Dodecanese very much impressed the whole Greek people, which its immortal bard, who embodies the spirit of the nation, interpreted so well; but this Homeric praise makes some writers, including Berg, consider that his eulogy is an anachronism, and that it really applies to the period of the naval supremacy of the Rhodians, perhaps about 900 B.C.

But the bold and gallant deeds of the Dodecanese in all these prehistoric times were also the hopeful augury that it would take a prominent place in the vibrating history of Hellenism, which has borne such fruits for human progress, and which arouses pride in the hearts of all its inheritors.

From the most remote times the Dodecanesian people never failed to be inspired with the noblest ideals, and to apply themselves with zeal to make their country not only one of the greatest ornaments of Greece, but also a link uniting all Greeks, and spreading Greek boundaries and spirit wherever their influence went.

Early historical events. This general characterisation and outline can only be drawn from the various statements and suggestions which are to be found here and there about those times. We have no absolute facts from which to draw deductions and trace the real events. This makes historians, when commenting on that epoch, confine themselves to stating that the era between the twelfth and the seventh centuries is too obscure, or abruptly terminated ¹ from lack of information, and full, moreover, of confused data and anachronisms.

Therefore, leaving the quicksands of fable and the statements which appear to refute themselves, we shall briefly base our review of that remote age on the best authorities obtainable and on the general circumstances which were developing in Greece after the powerful wave of the Dorian invasion.

It seems more than probable that the monarchical system of constitution in the islands was not in existence during these centuries, and that it was ended not long after the Trojan war.

In only two out of the three principal towns of the island of Rhodes, at Lindos and at Ialysos, does it appear that families of royal descent existed. That at Ialysos was the dynasty of Eratidai. Yet we do not know exactly whether these royal families formed a continuity of rulers, or whether there were breaks in the chain of their sequence as potentates, though we can be nearly sure that their kingly power was of a democratic nature, being subject to popular consent, and was quite extinct at the end of the seventh or beginning of the sixth century B.C.

Amongst those kings at Ialysos, we know that one was named Callianax and another Damagetos, about whom Pausanias ² gives us full, though chronologically somewhat puzzling, details. Damagetos went to consult

¹ Biliotti and Cottret, p. 18.

² IV. 24, 2, 3.

the sanctuary of Apollo as to where he should get a wife. The Pythian priestess replied that he was to marry the daughter of the best of the Greeks. Damagetos, thinking the Messenian King Aristomenes far the best Greek of that age, married his third daughter and became illustrious as the founder of the great family of Athletes, the Diagoridai. This Rhodian king gave asylum to his father-in-law for the remainder of his life after the fall of Eira (668 B.C.), which ended the second Messenian war.

At the death of Aristomenes, Damagetos and the Rhodians raised a splendid tomb to him, and paid honour to his memory, a memory which was kept ever green in the traditions of the island and also lived long in the hearts of his countrymen.

Amongst those who reigned at Lindos,¹ we hear of Evagoras and his son Cleoboulos, who lived in the beginning of the first half of the sixth century, and was celebrated as one of the seven sages of ancient Greece, both as lawgiver and poet. He is likewise reported as having been a good friend of Solon.

After the extinction of monarchy or its possible temporary abolition, it would appear that a period of oligarchical rule prevailed in the Dodecanese, but one which was, as in many parts of Greece, in a state of struggle with the growing spirit of democracy.

This state of things was sometimes the cause of the emigration of many islanders to various distances, and to such a reason doubtless is to be attributed the colonisation of Gela (690 B.C.) by Lindians with the support of Telians and Cretans. Whilst this royalty or oligarchy was still holding the reins of power, it must have made continual concessions to the rising demands of the people, but notwithstanding such sacrifices of its privileges,

¹ Gelder, *Gesch. der Alt. Rhod.* p. 71.

it evidently collapsed, and a democratic rule was established.

Thus two extreme parties were rivals, the conflicting ideas of which, especially in Rhodes, caused disturbances (580 B.C.), and became again visible in the struggle between Athens and Sparta, of which the first was the representative of democracy and the second of oligarchy.

We are on surer ground when we say that the three principal cities of Rhodes were independent of each other, each having its territorial sphere of influence, both inside and outside the island. Cos at this time was also divided into several townships with dependent territory.

This we deduce principally from the coinage of the archaic period, which reveals the same political development on some of the other islands, such as Calydna, and in Poseidion of Carpathos.

A still more substantial fraction of true historical life in the Dodecanese is given to us by Herodotos, when writing about the Doric Hexapolis. This Greek name, which means six Dorian cities, was given because of the union of the three renowned cities of Rhodes with Cos and two other towns, Cnidos and Halicarnassos, seated on the Asiatic coast near by.

When this league was organised—a league at first more religious than political—we cannot accurately state, but it seems to have been conceived as an idea in a very remote time. The Father of History does not enlighten us, and the little light which comes to us is from traditions and legends dating from the times of the coming of the Dorians under Althaimenes to the Dodecanese and his extension to the opposite mainland of Asia. It was, they say, at that distant time that the Dorians formed themselves into a confederation under the protection of Apollo.

The information relating to this league which Hero-

dotos ¹ gives us is that these six cities formed the Doric Hexapolis, that the temple of Apollo, which was the sanctuary of the confederation, stood on the promontory of Triopion, near Cnidos, and that the allies periodically congregated there for worship, for discussion of their common interests, and for games held in honour of the Triopian Apollo.

These gatherings extended the religious character of the covenant into a political alliance, which gave the confederates the power to protect themselves against the aggressive populations of the continent.

The prize offered to the victor at the games was a brazen tripod, which should be dedicated as an offering to the god.

But a Halicarnassian victor, whose name was Agasicles, refused to conform to the custom and hung the trophy in his home, which was considered an offence to the deity.

The consequence of this little incident was that the five other cities excluded Halicarnassos from sharing in the temple, as it supported its citizens in this transgression, and the hexapolis was thus reduced to a pentapolis (the five cities).

Babelon, commenting on this league, states that it is not surprising that there is a strong resemblance between the coins of the cities which formed it, and he admires the great commercial activity and seafaring energy of the Rhodians during those days.

And, indeed, we see that, whether under monarchy, or oligarchy, or democracy, in accordance with the changes of her political constitution, the leading island of the Dodecanese was always reported as flourishing and as having been a great centre of commerce and colonisation, and an asylum for refugees.

¹ I. 144. See also Dionys. *Halic.* IV. 25, 35.

CHAPTER III

CLASSICAL PERIOD (525–300 B.C.)

The Persian wars. After the reduction of the Asiatic Greeks by Harpagos, the Median general of Cyrus the Great, it seems that the prosperity of the Rhodians reached the ears of the Persian kings, who had already spread their domination very far. But at that time the Persians were unable to form ambitious schemes at sea, as they had no fleet and were not seamen. Later, however, this shortcoming was remedied through the subjection of the Phœnicians (528 B.C.) and the use of their navy, which was increased by the enormous resources of the Persian Empire under the reign of Dareios I., who employed it against the Greeks.

After this event and the suppression of the Ionian revolt (496 B.C.), some historians supposed that the Rhodians, who were now fully conscious of the sea-power of the Persians, accepted the mastery of Persia. But whether it was effected by peaceful negotiations or by a demonstration of force, they do not tell us. It has also been considered probable that Dareios obtained the submission of the Rhodians in the year 491 B.C., when many other Greeks voluntarily subjected themselves to the Persian sovereignty, giving *earth and water*, the customary token of submission.

Herodotos, so circumstantial on other matters, is silent in regard to the political action of the Rhodians and most of the other Dodecanesians during the Ionian revolt and the Persian wars. Therefore unreliable state-

ments prevailed. We say unreliable, because if the Rhodians had taken part (as Diodoros writes ¹) in these wars, Herodotos, a neighbour of the Rhodians, would have mentioned their participation, as he did when describing ² the support given by Artemisia to Xerxes, whereof he states that this "ruler of the men of Halicarnassos and Cos and Nisyros and Calydna furnished five ships, which were of all the fleet reputed the best after those of the Sidonians." In this information there is also some praise, which reveals again the excellence of the seamanship of the Dodecanesian peoples, as in the moving story which the same historian gives us about the beautiful daughter of Hegetorides ³ of Cos is seen the strong animosity felt by those islanders when they were compelled by any reason to remain in the lines of the odious Persian enemy.

On the field of the famous battle of Plataiai "she recognised Pausanias, and taking hold of his knees, she said these words: 'O King of Sparta, deliver me, thy suppliant, from the bondage of captivity, for thou hast done me service hitherto in destroying those who respect neither gods nor demi-gods. I am by race of Cos, the daughter of Hegetorides, the son of Antagoras, and the Persian took me by force in Cos and kept me a prisoner.'"

But a thorough interpretation of the Greek soul of the Dodecanesian people towards the Persian is expressed likewise by the illustrious Hippocrates, who replied to the invitation and inducements of the great king, that he would never render his services to barbarians, who were enemies of Greece.⁴

Our argument as regards the Rhodian attitude in these struggles is here supported by very recent dis-

¹ XI. 3.² VII. 79.³ IX. 76.⁴ Plutarch's *Cato*, XXIII.



THE FAMOUS PLANE-TREE OF HIPPOCRATES IN COS

coveries resulting from excavations in Rhodes. We have obtained the chronicle of the Lindian temple, which tells us only of the period in which the Rhodians recognised the authority of Persia. This was the year 490 B.C.

We read in this record ¹ that the Persian fleet, which under Datis and Artaphernes was gathered together in Cilicia during the spring of that year, first visited the island of Rhodes, and that the inhabitants, struck with fear on seeing the arrival of the Persians, fled to the mountains, or took refuge in the strong places of the island, and especially in the acropolis of Lindos. Their fears, however, soon evaporated as they learned that their ambassador was well received by the Persian admirals, and that the latter offered gifts to the most notable goddess of Rhodes. This induced the Rhodians also to come to an amicable arrangement with the principal admiral of the fleet, Datis, who, satisfied with the settlement and wishing to avoid all provocation, left them in tranquillity.

No less important would it be to know at what exact time Cos and the other islands first recognised the Persian rule. We have but little light on the subject even of Cos, and about the others we know nothing, or almost nothing.

Firstly, therefore, it remains to explain the fate of Cos at the time of the Persian advance, and then to state the probabilities as regards the other ten islands.

Herodotos ² gives us the name of a tyrant called Skythes, who was previously king of Zancle in Sicily, and who, having taken refuge at the court of Dareios I., was considered by him the most righteous of all men who had come to him from Hellas. The same writer adds that Cadmos, ³ the Coan son of Skythes, was sent

¹ pp. 64 f.

² VI. 23.

³ Herod. VII. 163-4.

to Delphi by Gelon, the tyrant of Syracuse and a Telian by origin, on a secret mission during the expedition of Xerxes to Greece, and that he previously had succeeded his father in the tyranny over the prosperous Coans. But this Cadmos frankly and freely handed over the government to the people of Cos. He then went off to Sicily, where he took from the Samians the city of Zancle, which had changed its name to Messene.

Thucydides ¹ speaking about this town informs us that it was taken from the Samians, almost as soon as they acquired it, by Anaxilas, who named it Messene (494 B.C.).

From all this evidence we might draw the conclusion that Cos came completely under the Persian sovereignty during the reign of Dareios and towards the end of the sixth century, because the island probably earlier had recognised the Persian overlordship.

A little support to this hypothesis might be interpreted from what had happened in the neighbourhood of the island.

Herodotos, writing about Harpagos, the general of Cyrus, states that he conquered the coast regions of Asia and reduced the Greeks one after the other, and amongst them the Cnidians.

From this statement we might assume that the island neighbouring to Cnidos was affected by this advance of the Persians and that their ascendancy was, by this event, extended. The historian does not transmit to us any detail on which we could found any certitude. But what we can say with some certainty is that at about the beginning of the fifth century Skythes, probably a native of Cos, having been driven out from Zancle by the intrigues of Anaxilas, went over to Dareios I.

¹ VI. 4. See also Herod. VI. 23.

The Persian king, appreciating his high qualities, bestowed on him the island of Cos as a fief.

The fidelity and devotion which Skythes showed to Dareios were so great that he passed most of his time at the court of the great king, and he died there at an advanced age, the possessor of great wealth.

Further, we assume Cadmos was born at Cos during his father's residence on this island, and that he resigned the tyranny with a view to pleasing the Coans and conforming to the public opinion of that time in the Ægean Sea.

Then, again, we find that Anaxilas, a native of Messenia, and despot of Rhegium, in Italy, conferred the tyranny of the adjacent city of Messene on Cadmos, as son of its former king.

But it does not seem that the Coans enjoyed long this freedom, for the appearance of ships belonging to them and the neighbouring islands Calydna and Nisyros at the battle of Salamis shows that they were absorbed in the dominion of Artemisia, who was under Persian suzerainty.

A transient glimpse at the history of Leros of that time is likewise given to us by Herodotos, when he writes ¹ about Aristagoras, the noted leader of the Ionic revolt. This man, being in despair of his cause, called a meeting of his partisans to decide what they should do and whither they should flee in case they should be driven out from Miletos.

In that assembly Hecataios, the historian and son of Hegesander, raised his voice against giving up the city of their fathers and advised Aristagoras to turn his eyes to the neighbouring island of Leros and build there a defensive wall, and remain peaceful in order that,

¹ Herod. V. 124, 125.

under favourable circumstances, with the island as his starting-point, he might be able to return to Miletos. From this thin thread of light we may assume that the island was free from Persian rule during the Ionic rising, and belonged to the kindred Miletos, the mother of about eighty colonies.

We have no further information as to when Leros fell under the Persian rule, therefore here again we have to revert to hypothesis, *i. e.* that the island after the tragic fall of its metropolis, which made a very deep impression at Athens, probably began to recognise Persian rule.

The islands in the neighbourhood of Rhodes perhaps shared the fate of that island as regards Persian domination, as they were probably in her possession.

But the Greeks deeply resented the Persian overlordship of the Dodecanese. We glean this from the fact that the Athenian fleet, under the lead of the great Themistocles, after the far-reaching Greek victory at Salamis, swooped down on Rhodes, emancipated the island from Persian control, and punished the aristocratic partisans of Persia, who were led by the notorious Timocreon of Ialysos. Timocreon was banished for ever.

A similar action followed a little later for another beloved Greek island, Cyprus, when Pausanias and Cimon were likewise sent to expel the same national enemy from that fine isle.

First Athenian confederacy. Beneficial results followed the action of Themistocles at Rhodes. The democracy came again into power, and the Rhodians, the Coans and the other Dodecanesians were united with the confederacy of Delos (477 B.C.), directed by Athens against the first national enemy of Greece—Persia. Yet

the sympathy towards this league felt by the Dorian islanders was not only drawn forth by a sense of security obtained against the attacks of this enemy, but also because Delos was selected as the treasury, and the Temple of Apollo in that island was chosen as the centre of the periodical meetings of the confederation; and we know that the worship of the Delian Apollo was celebrated amongst these islands from early years.

In the assessment of tribute to be received from the Athenian allies, as seen in the list of the Athenian quota of tribute, we find the Dodecanesians included, as also the amount which each city paid, where the figures are in a state of preservation, but some are, unfortunately, injured by the ravages of time. From these lists, which date from before as well as during the Peloponnesian war, we discover that these islands were not depopulated and devastated, as has been repeatedly stated, but, on the contrary, many of them were in a very prosperous position.

The Peloponnesian war. The gratitude of the islanders for their deliverance by the Athenians, and their admiration for the spirit of freedom and justice represented by the name Athenai, which her admirals Themistocles, Aristeides and Cimon had so well represented after the expulsion of the barbarians beyond the Greek boundaries, were visibly shown when the Peloponnesian war broke out. They placed themselves on the side of Athens and suppressed the oligarchs, and through their contribution increased the fighting forces of the Athenian commonwealth.¹

The islands of the Dodecanese offered every facility to the Athenian fleets; their harbours were always open to the Athenian naval squadrons, and there

¹ Thucyd. II. 9, VIII. 43.

the latter could provision their ships when needed and repair any damage done. Conspicuous was the assistance of Rhodes, for she, besides other practical help, sent excellent light troops, known as slingers and dart-throwers, and took part in the Sicilian expedition, though by origin Argive Dorian, as Thucydides points out.¹ She also remained faithful to Athens even after its disaster in Sicily (413 B.C.), though Chios and other states in the Ægean waters went over to Sparta. If the Rhodians during the last years of this fratricidal war were estranged from the Athenians, it was because the latter were tardy in aiding the Rhodian democrats in their struggle with the oligarchs of Rhodes.

The most powerful of these, encouraged by the naval victory of the Peloponnesians near Symi,² for which they had raised there a trophy as symbol of their great triumph, plotted a revolt of Rhodes against the Athenians. Their encouragement had been increased by the presence of Dorieus with ten ships joined to the Spartan fleet, which was in the waters of Cnidos. This Dorieus was the distinguished son of the illustrious aristocrat and athlete Diagoras, and the principal leader of the oligarchy, which caused his exile on the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.

This plot succeeded, owing to the support of the Peloponnesian fleet. The fleet, which contained ninety-four ships, accepted the invitation of the influential oligarchs, and sailed to Cameiros at the beginning of 411 B.C.

The democrats of this city, not knowing the circumstances, and the place being unfortified, fled in terror.

The Lacedæmonians, convoking the population of Cameiros and of Ialysos and Lindos, persuaded them

¹ VII. 57.

² VIII. 42.

to sever their alliance with the Athenians and join the Spartans.

Thus, Thucydides¹ states, Rhodes separated itself from Athens, to the immense joy of the Spartans, who thought that by gaining this island they would obtain a great increase in sailors and in infantry.

This policy of the Rhodian oligarchy which placed Rhodes on the side of Sparta cost Rhodes dearly, for the Lacedæmonians repeatedly requisitioned the island for money and ships; and the Athenians ravaged it without any opposition from their new ally. But notwithstanding this, the Rhodians remained faithful to the Spartans even after the end of the Peloponnesian war, which was due to the pressure of the powerful Dorieus.

The Coans had every reason to remember the terrible time when, after a very destructive earthquake, the unprotected island was invaded by the Lacedæmonian admiral Astyochos, who sacked the city of Astypalaia, and devastated the country (412 B.C.); also when, a little later, Alcibiades with his Athenians raised defensive walls to prevent a repetition of hostile visitations and to constitute the island the principal Athenian station in the S.E. Ægean (411-408 B.C.).

But the Rhodian example caused the Coans to unite with the Spartans a few years later (407 B.C.), which defection on the part of the land of his birth induced Hippocrates to break off his sojourn at Athens and seek a retreat in Thessaly.

None of the other islanders, however, it appears, were sympathetic with this policy of the larger islands, as we gather from the event that they remained faithful to Athens, and Leros, with Chalki and Symi, became the

¹ VIII. 44, 1.

strategic base of the Athenian fleet,¹ especially when the great struggle for supremacy between Athens and Sparta drifted even more in this direction, and the Athenians were making strenuous but futile efforts to recover the important islands of Rhodes and Cos.

The building of the city of Rhodes. About four years before the conclusion of this fratricidal strife, when the vast resources of Hellenism were so recklessly squandered, the three famous cities of the island of Rhodes united as a single state, to found a common capital towards the north of the island and not far from Ialysos.

This city was called Rhodes. It was admirably constructed, with five harbours in a very beautiful position, and was wonderfully adapted for commercial purposes, as it stood near the usual channel along which commercial shipping passed.

The amphitheatrical plan of this city was excellent and was conceived in all respects by the illustrious Milesian architect Hippodamos, the same who built Piræus.

Here the inhabitants of the three cities, hitherto independent of each other and united only by the ties of confederation, united their efforts and their wealth in one common citizenship and government of the whole of Rhodes and its possessions. Here they raised huge fortifications to concentrate the defence against any possible attack on their island, and by attracting much of the commerce which hitherto had been in the hands of the Athenians, they grew rapidly to greater wealth and political power.

Thereby they obtained a unique position and assumed quickly an absolutely independent political ascendancy in harmony with their antecedents and their progressive

¹ Thucyd. VIII. 27, 42, 44, 55.

character, both for the welfare of themselves and that of Greece.

Strabo,¹ writing of the grandeur of the new city of the Rhodians,² of which the official name was 'Α πόλις ἡ Ροδίων, states :—

“ With regard to harbours, roads, walls and other buildings, it so much surpasses other cities, that we know of none equal, much less superior to it.”

The rhetorician Aristeides,³ with a high lyrical enthusiasm, also praises the beauties of this city. He notes especially the complete symmetry of its different parts, which seemed to form a whole; the wide streets, which were admirably planned, the temples, the shrines, the statues, the pictures, many of which were of unrivalled beauty and design. The same writer praises the numerous and capacious harbours, which received shipment from Ionia, Caria, Egypt, Cyprus and Phœnicia; and he mentions with gratification the many monuments and trophies which conserved the memory of past campaigns. But what he found singularly beautiful in Rhodes was the magnificence of the encircling walls, cut with towers whose lofty and picturesque position made them useful as lighthouses for navigation.

Lucian,⁴ who adds his voice to the chorus of praise, says : “ The city of the sun possesses indeed the celestial beauty of its guardian deity.”

Political re-organisation. The rise of the new city to supreme power did not destroy the identity and existence of the other three cities.

These continued to administer their internal affairs by municipal councils, of which the members were called

¹ XIV. 2, 5.

³ *Rhod.* 341 f.

² See also Gelder, *Gesch. der . . .*, p. 235.

⁴ *Amor.* 7–8.

μάστροι,¹ and by local assemblies, and some of the resolutions passed by them have been found; they relate to money transactions, distribution of honours, and sacred matters connected with the temple; but how extensive were the powers of these local councils is unknown. All we know is that foreign policy and common interests were confided to the central government in the city of Rhodes.

Strabo is therefore misleading when he states that the Lindians, like the inhabitants of Cameiros and Ialysos, all settled at Rhodes.

The same mistake is made by Diodoros when he says that the inhabitants of the island of Rhodes, who occupied Ialysos, Lindos and Cameiros, united themselves in a single town, to which they gave the name of Rhodes.

The political union of Rhodes (συνοικισμός) took place in 407 B.C., and reminds us of that of Athens in far-off days which was attributed to Theseus.

Henceforward the official language² of Rhodes becomes Dorian, which had always been the language of the people, instead of the Ionian, which had hitherto been in use there since the first half of the fifth century B.C., and an aristocratic constitution was established in accordance with the strong trend towards oligarchy which is observable throughout Greece at that period.

From few and fairly reliable sources transmitted to us by inscriptions and writers of antiquity we can gather that after the *synoikismos* of the three cities the central government was composed of a council (βουλή) and the chief executive officials who were the real authority of the Rhodian state. They were six in number, uniting political and military power, and were replaced

¹ Gelder, *Gesch. der . . .*, p. 237: Greenidge, *A Handbook of Greek*, p. 219.

² Kinch and Blinkenberg, III., *Rapport*, p. 17.

every six months. One of them acted as president, from whom arises the expression “ἐπὶ πρυτανίων τῶν ἀμφὶ τόν.” The prytaneis could be re-elected for the second term of the year, as also could their president.

Their sittings were held in a building called Prytaneion, and in their keeping were the archives of the city.

In the year 395 B.C. an alteration was made in this constitution, but not of a very revolutionary nature.

The executive power was then limited by the assembly (δᾶμος), which had the right of approving or rejecting all submitted decisions (προβουλεύματα), and the further right of decision in all momentous public matters, such as peace or war, external political alliances, etc. The prytaneis presided over the assembly, and their power sometimes enabled them to carry out a policy against the general popular approval.¹

Under them was a college of ten stratagoi, one of whom was appointed as commander of the Rhodian Peraia. Later these were called ἀγεμόνες.

Rhodes being a maritime state, in the course of time gave a great significance to the admiral's office (ναύαρχος), because the latter had the power of negotiating alliances with foreign states, as we shall see in the incidents in this history, and his position was not inferior to that of the prytaneis.

Thus the constitution of Rhodes, whilst appearing to be democratic, was in reality a plutocratic oligarchy, which endeavoured, by benevolent and human legislation, to keep the people contented,² whilst it encouraged them to serve the city, more especially in manning the fleets.

¹ Aristotle, *Politics*, 1304, β.

² Strabo, XIV. 2, 5 (p. 653).

This kind of administration Strabo ¹ greatly praises, writing :—

“ Their political constitution and laws are excellent, and the care admirable with which they administered affairs of state generally, and particularly those relative to their marine.”

It seems also to have influenced the other islands of the group, most of which down to our days have continued, notwithstanding foreign occupation, to maintain it, thus becoming almost autonomous.

Thus from inscriptions ² dating from about the middle of the fourth century B.C. we are informed that there were two assemblies in Calymnos, of which one was named *βουλή* (council) and the other *δᾶμος* or *ἐκκλησία* (general assembly). The former had the right to deliberate on public matters before they were submitted to the general assembly.

We likewise learn from the same source that magistrates were probably a *στεφανηφόρος μόναρχος*, a *ταμίας* and an admiral (*ναύαρχος ἢ ἄρχων ὑπηρετικοῦ*).

The above-termed *μόναρχος* recalls the eponyme magistrate of the neighbouring island of Cos, which had the same appellation, and caused some archæologists to think that Calymnos at that period was in the domain of this larger island and the *μόναρχος* of Cos was the same who ruled both islands.

Reunion with Athens. The increase of political power which took place in the island of Rhodes after these events is shown in many ways, which are often no less important, in other islands.

The oppressive and overbearing attitude of the insular oligarchies supported by Sparta aroused the antipathy

¹ Strabo, XIV. 2, 5 (p. 653).

² C. T. Newton, *Anc. Greek Inscr.* Part II. pp. 53–102.

of the whole democratic spirit of the Dodecanese, and the islanders only awaited the first opportunity to cast off their political control.

That opportunity came when the Rhodians expelled the Spartan fleet of seventy-two ships under Pharax from the harbours of their new city and the Athenian fleet under Conon was received by them (395 B.C.).

The democratic ascendancy was fully confirmed at Rhodes in the following year, when the Athenian Conon, employing the power of Evagoras, a meteor in the firmament of the history of Cyprus, and assisted by the Persian fleet, made an end of the Spartan maritime supremacy at the naval battle of Cnidos (394 B.C.).

After this victory, the Coans and Nisyrians¹ were amongst the first islanders who revolted against Sparta and joined with Athens, following once more the foreign policy of Rhodes, and in consonance with the general upheaval of the time, inclining towards the democratic spirit historically represented by that city.

The exact attitude of the other islands at this period is not known to us, but from a recent discovery in Carpathos it seems that the pro-Athenian spirit had spread in these waters. For we learn from an inscription² found at Carpathos that this island at that time contributed a cypress-tree to the Athenians towards the rebuilding of the "old temple" at Athena on the acropolis. From the same source we learn that the Athenians reciprocally gave autonomy and other privileges to this island, and the Coans, the Rhodians and the other allies were ordered by Athens to give help and hospitality to the Carpathians in case of need.

Strong factions. But the re-establishing of the democratic element in power appears to have excited

¹ Diod. XIV. 84.

² Hicks, p. 179.

the animosity of the oligarchy in the Dodecanese and to have embittered the political passions of the factions. The result was that parties rose or fell according as they were helped by one or other of the contending powers whose principles they supported.

It is a lamentable fact that, as in so many other cases in history, banishment and execution of the leaders of the parties were the order of the day during this change of power from one party to another, with the natural consequence of foreign intervention.

Second Athenian confederacy. It may fairly be assumed that again a democratic atmosphere was wafted from the Ægean, from which the second Athenian confederacy evolved in 378 B.C. with the object of throwing off the Spartan supremacy. The first states which joined this new league were Chios, Byzantium, Rhodes, Mytilene, Cos, Thebes, Eubœia, and others,¹ which ultimately amounted to seventy-five.² All these were to be independent, to send envoys to Athens, and to contribute to a common fund for naval purposes, *syntaxis* (contribution) by name instead of the invidious *phoros* (tribute). "It was then," as Professor Bury says, "that the Greek chief cities were setting their houses in order."³

It is noticeable that none of the cities of Asia Minor are named in the list of states inscribed as members of the league. The reason is obviously that the disgraceful peace of Antalkidas (387 B.C.), a result of disunion, cast them into the hands of the king of Persia until the great Alexander liberated them.

It was about that important period that far-reaching events were developing, amongst which was the rise

¹ Hicks and Hill, *A Manual of Greek Hist. Inscr.* p. 193. Diod. XV. 9.

² Diod. XV. 28-30, 38.

³ *History of Greece*, pp. 565-6.



OLD MAP OF COS

of Thebes, a state that had reduced the power of Sparta on land under the lead of Epaminondas, and was preparing for the reduction of the maritime power of Athens by breaking up its confederacy (364), by putting into action the great fleet of a hundred ships which she had constructed.¹

The founding of the city of Cos. It was also about that memorable time that the Coans decided to extinguish their party bitterness of feeling and to constitute themselves members of the city, which, as we saw, was called Cos, and to join in the main stream of political life, and as Hicks² picturesquely puts it, "they trimmed their sails for the breeze."

The war of the allies. The defensive alliance with Athens was not destined to be long-lived, because when the Rhodians and the Coans, with the Byzantians and Chians, saw that Athens was tending towards reconstruction of its empire, they withdrew on various pretexts from the confederacy (358 B.C.). This step was mainly due to the manœuvres of the oligarchs pushed on by the dynast of Caria, Maussollos, who planned to annex Rhodes and Cos to his states, to which these were neighbours. But this could not be done unless he could separate the islands from Athens.

The Athenians began a war against the alliance, during which the Rhodian admirals greatly distinguished themselves in the waters of Chios, and the result was that Athens recognised the independence of the associated states, Cos, Chios, Rhodes³ and Byzantium. This war, which lasted nearly three years (358-355), is generally misnamed a civil war instead of *the war of the allies* (συμμαχικός πόλεμος), as it should be called.⁴

¹ Diod. XV. 79.

² *Inscr. of Cos*, Introd. xxvii.

³ Diod. XV. 7.

⁴ Bury (*History of Greece*, p. 692 n.) properly notices this fact.

Carian supremacy. At the end of this war the Rhodians and the Coans *expected to recover complete independence*, but they soon saw that they were under a foreign yoke. For a Carian garrison was soon introduced into their islands by Maussollos, which established the oligarchy again and kept them in subjection; and now they were without hope of having their liberty restored, as they had lost the patronage of Athens, and had fallen into the hands of the ambitious vassal of the great king.

Maussollos died (353 B.C.), and his widow Artemisia took the reins of power. The Rhodians were now hopeful of regaining their lost freedom and despatched a fleet to Halicarnassos with the object of dethroning the queen and taking possession of Caria.

Artemisia, however, by a stratagem ¹ which Vitruvius describes, seized Rhodes and, in order to maintain her ascendancy there, she executed the democratic leaders and completely re-established the oligarchy. She perpetuated her victory by a bronze group of statues offensive to Rhodes. The Coans, having likewise revolted, were submitted to the same kind of oppression, as were probably the Calydnians.

But the old love of freedom of the Rhodian people could not long tolerate this oppressive oligarchical system of government, and the islanders looked to Athens for support, although their previous action was not calculated to give them much hope.

The Athenian assembly refused to listen to the appeal, notwithstanding the eloquent pleading of Demosthenes,² who powerfully contended for democratic principles throughout the world and held the view that Athens should always be in the van of the struggle

¹ *De Archit.* II. 41.

² *Oration on the liberty of the Rhodians.*

for democratic government and should support all Greek peoples suffering under oppression, particularly the oppression of oligarchs and tyrants.

Cos and Rhodes appear to have been free again after the death of Hidreus (342), who is considered as the strongest dynast of Caria, and was the successor of Artemisia, whose rule was very short. In the struggle concerning the succession to this throne, the Rhodians were on the side of Ada, the widow of Hidreus, and against Pixodaros, his brother.

Siege of Byzantium by Philip. We find also the peoples of Cos and Rhodes from this time onwards united with Athens and other Greek cities or sovereigns, anxious to defend Greek freedom and civilisation from whatever quarter threatened.

This good understanding enabled Athens to force Philip of Macedon, with the assistance of Rhodes and Cos,¹ to raise the siege of Byzantium (340 B.C.).

Alexander the Great. Shortly after, the Dodecanesians supported the cause of Alexander, and it is reported that the Rhodians especially assisted him in his effort to capture Tyre by sending ten ships (332 B.C.). Fortunately, Memnon, the Rhodian admiral in the service of Persia, who was the ablest admiral of that age, had died, and this circumstance gave Alexander the opportunity to extinguish the Persian supremacy of the Ægean Sea and make the latter a Greek lake. The fall of the famous city of Tyre was to open Asia to the advance of Alexander and to that of Hellenic civilisation.

It is also reported that at the glorious battle of Arbela (331 B.C.) Alexander was vested with a precious mantle taken from the temple of the Lindian Athena, and

¹ Diod. XVI. 77.

conferred on him by the Rhodians before the admiring eyes of his followers.

The great conqueror gratefully acknowledged the support and goodwill of the islanders and helped Rhodes to still further progress. Thereby Rhodes speedily began to rise towards the zenith of her development, influence and power in history, and so great was the trust of the great king in her safety and integrity that he himself left his will in the keeping of the powerful republic of the Rhodians.

From the death of Alexander to the siege of Rhodes by Demetrios. After Alexander's death (323 B.C.) Rhodes expelled the Macedonian garrison and obtained her complete independence. During the protracted struggles between the successors of Alexander, rivals for his spoils, she tried to keep aloof from them, to suppress the piracy which infested the Mediterranean Sea and to capture the carrying trade in those waters.¹ The wonderful success of the Rhodians lay in the way of foreign politics, which aroused the admiration of Polybios,² as is seen in the following words :—

“ Nor ought I to omit stating the reason of this policy of the Rhodians. They wished that no ruler or prince should be entirely without hope of gaining their support or alliance, and they therefore did not wish to bind or hamper themselves beforehand with oaths and treaties; but, by remaining uncommitted, to be able to avail themselves of all advantages as they arose.”

Though, indeed, many states made advances to them for alliance, the Rhodians avoided all such offers and complications. Their object was to be free from entanglements, with a view to avoiding the intrigues

¹ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, II. 406. Cf. Diod. XX. 81. ² XXX. 5, 7-9.

and the tempting imperialistic proposals of the upstart neighbouring sovereigns, many of whom appeared as pretenders to the heirship of Alexander's empire; for the Rhodians desired to maintain a free hand, an attitude which would enable them to keep their neutrality completely, and to be, as hitherto, according to Polybios, "the protectors not only of their own liberty, but of that of the rest of Greece also."¹ Yes, the Rhodians reserved to themselves the right to join in a war either for defending the menaced freedom of Greek cities, or for the protection of trade on the seas,² or whenever the true interests of their commonwealth compelled them to draw the sword.

And to realise this supreme right, Rhodes organised a system of close federation with maritime and island cities, and always found a powerful ally in one of the continents.

Like Britain in later history, Rhodes also used her insular position and her constantly armed neutrality to enable her to act as arbiter in the continual strife between warring peoples and kings. She likewise sought to prevent the rise of a too militant state, which might subvert the balance of power by selfish ambitions, and thereby extinguish the light and liberty of free peoples in one tremendous upheaval.

Her alliance with Antigonos, who had declared war against Polysperchon, then (317) menacing Greek freedom, is an instance of this attitude. Her determination to maintain her independence and integrity is evidenced in her coalition (315) with Ptolemy of Egypt, Cassander of Macedon, and Lysimachos of Thrace against Antigonos, then the most powerful of all Alexander's successors

¹ XXVII. 4, 7. "Διατελοῦσι προστατοῦντες οὐ μόνον τῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας."

² Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, p. 377.

and a former ally of Rhodes. Further visible evidence of her strong disinclination to join in unnecessary hostilities is shown by the abstention of the Rhodians and Coans from joining Ptolemy when he came to blows with Antigonos (310-307), though their sympathy was with the former, because he had supported Greek freedom and offered them good commercial terms.

It was during this strife that Berenice, who had accompanied her husband Ptolemy whilst occupied with his campaign in the Ægean, retired from Myndos to Cos, where she found repose amidst charming surroundings and gave birth to Ptolemy Philadelphos. This event Theocritos¹ celebrates in verse, and it was a prominent reason for the strong attachment which the royal family of the Ptolemies felt for the island of Cos.

But notwithstanding the fervent efforts and wishes of the Dodecanesians for peace, and their strenuous negotiations for neutrality, all these well-intended purposes proved to be unattainable.

Entente with the Romans. It was at about the same time (306 B.C.) that the Rhodians came to an understanding with the Romans. This was not an alliance with them, but a mere understanding of amity and commercial intercourse.

There is a great controversy about the reason which brought Rhodes into this relationship, and stories of different kinds are current. But the desire for an understanding would seem to be easily explained by the extensive shipping and commerce which led many of the Rhodian trading vessels to the bay of Parthenope (Naples). These were flourishing Rhodian centres, which certainly had been connected with Rome in enterprise, and naturally, therefore, much information

¹ Idyl XVII. 58 f.

about the two states was made known, and this established mutually friendly sentiments.

In describing the two following periods of the history of the Dodecanese, it will be our task to bring the events of that contact clearly before our readers and draw forth the consequences which developed from that policy. These were so vast in their bearing on the history of the Greco-Roman world for over two and a half centuries, that it is necessary for us to devote some considerable space to the subject.

Our motive is the more justified by the situation which has arisen very lately in those waters of the *Ægean* Sea, where, by unforeseen circumstances, the descendants of ancient Rome came once again into touch. But the hopes of the Rhodians are, that they will now have a brighter destiny than that which awaited their ancestors.

CHAPTER IV

ANTIGONOS AND DEMETRIOS ATTACK RHODES

Outbreak of hostilities between Rhodes and Antigonos.
As Antigonos, the satrap of Syria, was evidently making his rule a world-empire and his dignity a universal kingship, the Rhodians, quite naturally, did not intend to facilitate his progress, which might well be their undoing, whilst at the same time they wished to avoid a rupture.

Under directions from his father Antigonos, Demetrios sailed during the spring of 306 B.C. from Greece, with the intention of wresting Cyprus from Ptolemy. At the same time, with a view to testing the attitude of Rhodes in the forthcoming Egyptian war, Antigonos appealed to her for support in the operations. The answer was beyond reproach in politeness, but none the less it was disappointing to him in all essentials.

It would have appeared a bad policy at that time for the Rhodians to have adopted any other course, for at that epoch the trade between Egypt and the island was already bulky, the imports of the island from thence forming the principal and staple part of its commodities from abroad and the chief source of its fiscal revenues. To fall out with Ptolemy would therefore, on their part, have been one of those blunders of statesmanship which are termed crimes.

Demetrios, thus unaided by the Rhodians, sailed to Cilicia, when, taking up ships and men, he proceeded to Cyprus, of which he took possession after a brilliant

naval victory over Ptolemy near Leucolla in that island.¹ Antigonos, puffed up by his son's great success, assumed the title of king, permitted Demetrios to do likewise, and directed him to be prepared for the attempt against Egypt. But before entering on this extensive and distant enterprise, Antigonos came to the conclusion that a Rhodian alliance was essential for that object, on account of its navy. Therefore he warned the Rhodians against further traffic and commerce with the recalcitrant Egyptian satrap, and this ill-disguised ultimatum was followed by measures of precaution. By seizing the ships already on their way from Rhodes to Egypt he committed an act of war, the more so as the Rhodians put up a resistance which was the natural consequence of the seizure.

This act of self-defence on the part of the islanders was intentionally set forth by Antigonos as an aggression on his fleet by them, and the beginning of an unjust war. The Rhodians, still adhering to a policy of peace, if it could be maintained without loss of honour or freedom, tried to avoid war by every means which could be suggested, except peace at any price.

In this last somewhat hopeless attempt towards conciliation, the people of Rhodes exceeded the limits of normal diplomacy; they voted to Antigonos and Demetrios degrees of honour, raising up statues to immortalise the kings and appease their wrath, and they attempted through envoys to justify their attitude of neutrality; but all appears to have been a futile effort.

Preparations of war. Antigonos sent Demetrios against Rhodes, and he, in obedience to his father's orders, sailed from Salamis, in Cyprus, to Loryma on

¹ In this battle the Coan Pleistias was the Lord High Admiral of the whole Demetrian fleet. (Ἀρχικυβερνήτης τοῦ σύμπαντος στόλου). Diod. XX. 50, 4,

the Asiatic coast, opposite Rhodes. Demetrios soon made his appearance before the island with a large fleet having forty thousand soldiers on board. Pirates also, in the hope of benefits to come, had joined his fleet as auxiliaries on the way, thus doubtless materially adding to his efficiency in navigation, for they were all sea-dogs in these waters. There likewise followed a thousand vessels crammed with merchandise.

The object which Antigonos had in view, when he thus commanded his son to attack the island with such a formidable force, was to acquire it as a valuable base for future operations against Egypt. His last efforts in that direction had failed, and he hoped to obtain better results with this island as a stepping-stone or spring-board for facilitating his attack.

On the other hand, the Rhodians were still averse to rushing into war, and they now apparently agreed to all the terms which had been offered and which they had refused to accept the previous year. They even suggested assisting Antigonos in his campaign against Egypt, and thereby supporting his aggressive policy. Demetrios, however, was no longer satisfied with this acceptance of earlier peace conditions. The right of free entry at all times into Rhodian ports, and the surrendering of a hundred prominent citizens of the island as hostages, were now salient and unacceptable articles of his new demands.

The Rhodians, feeling from these symptoms that the spirit which animated Demetrios and his father was tainted with malice, and that in reality these kings were exacting an abject submission and self-effacement on the part of the islanders, morally and materially, preferred to risk the arbitrament of war and if need be to lose freedom after the test of arms, rather than surrender



[Dapper.

OLD MAP OF THE CITY OF RHODES

ignominiously to intimidation. The result was an outbreak of hostilities.

*The siege*¹ (305–304 B.C.). Demetrios therefore drew up his ships in battle array, pushing forward his fighting squadrons, which carried in their prows all sorts of war machines, whilst the transport craft, carrying horses, food and munitions, were towed behind them by means of cables. In the rear were the pirate-vessels and the vast fleet of merchant ships, doubtless a motley gathering of flotillas. All these, covering the waters with their huge number, were seen by the citizens on shore and made an impressive and disquieting spectacle. It foreboded a mighty struggle. Rhodes is so situated that the whole population, crowded on the walls and the house-tops, like the spectators in an arena, could perceive the immensity of the menace, and the chances, great or small, which were theirs. For be it remembered, all that was to them most precious was now at stake, their very existence as a state was in the hands of the gods.

Demetrios landed his men on the island without any resistance, and took his quarters outside the walls of the city, but not within the reach of an arrow. Having seen to the needs of the disembarked force, he straightway sent some of the pirates and others to pillage the neighbouring lands, instructing them to carry off all that was of use to the army and to destroy the rest. He felled the timber round about and wrecked the suburbs, in order to get materials with which to protect his camp and make a new harbour close to the great port as a shelter for his fleet.

Once more the Rhodians approached him by envoys,

¹ The description of the siege is based on the records of Diodoros (XX. 81–88 and 91–100), Plutarch's *Demetrios* (XXI.–XXII.) and *Pausanias* (1, 6, 6). See also *Marmor Parium*, β, 27.

asking that no irremediable damage should be done, only to learn again, however, that Demetrios had hardened his heart and would entertain no compromise. Seeing the futility of words, they then sent ambassadors to the Egyptian ruler, Ptolemy, as well as to Lysimachos and Cassander, craving support; to which, indeed, they were certainly entitled, as it was on their account that war had been opened upon the Rhodians.

Whilst awaiting the results the Rhodians had prepared for the approaching siege, and amongst other measures they had permitted all suitable alien residents in the city to take up arms. Further, they removed from the town the remainder of the populace which could not aid in the defence, so that they should not consume local provisions speedily or, becoming demoralised by privations, seek to betray the city.

On taking a roll-call of those that bore arms, it was found that there were six thousand citizens and one thousand foreigners. In addition a decree was issued whereby all slaves who had a reputation for good character were to be freed and permitted as citizens to bear arms, being bought off from their masters.

Likewise, a proclamation was made that those who fell in the war should be buried at the public expense and their parents and young children be supported by the public treasury; that their daughters should be granted portions from the common funds when betrothed, and that their sons when grown up should be crowned in the theatre at the festivals of Bacchos, clad in a full panoply of arms.

Further preparations were then made, and everything showed that the people of Rhodes were determined to fight to the bitter end. Both the wealthy and the humble, the old and the young, regardless of sex, poured

forth all they possessed in coin and labour for this one purpose, for the making and repairing of arms, of walls, of anything that could serve towards the defence. Even the women offered the hair of their heads for the various weapons employed in the defence, which, according to the rhetorician Aristeides,¹ the Rhodians proudly retained to show visitors for centuries later. All these efforts combined to make Rhodes a city in arms.

Besides, the islanders, wishing to give the first proof of their audacity and skill, dispatched three swift ships against the merchant ships which were bringing supplies to Demetrios, and considerable success crowned this exploit.

Whilst the Rhodians were thus preparing to risk the chances of war, Demetrios, using his vast resources, constructed, says Diodoros, two testudoes, the one opposed to the engines that cast stones, and the other against those which shot darts and arrows. He also built two towers four storeys high, higher than the turrets of the town around the harbour, and made a wooden rampart to float upon the water, and gathered together a large number of strong boats, upon which he placed engines to throw darts and arrows to a great distance.

Demetrios attempted furthermore to prevent the Rhodians from heightening the walls close to the harbour. All these efforts of the king showed the Rhodians that his principal object was to capture the harbour, and they therefore took all possible measures for its defence.

The attack from the sea. Demetrios began the fury of his principal attack from the sea side of the city, and he continued it for months. A fierce gale hindered his movements during the first day of the attack, when he

¹ *Rhodiace*, p. 355.

was attempting to bring his large engines of war into the harbour. But by nightfall a calm set in, which enabled him in the darkness to proceed secretly and seize the loftiest rampart of the great harbour. Surrounding this spot with a mud wall, he also encircled it with a stockade backed up by large stones and planks of timber. Summoning four hundred men ashore, he placed them there, with darts and arrows and other weapons, the place itself being close up to the defences of the town. And now, towards the early dawn, the bitter struggle commenced. The besiegers brought their great engines into the harbour, shouting the while and sounding trumpets, whilst with their small shot they harassed their opponents and wrought much execution amongst those building the walls in the harbour. With their battering-rams they smashed the Rhodians' war machines, and shook the wall in one part, completely toppling it over in another. The Rhodians were fighting with the utmost determination, which the losses on both sides already showed.

The next day Demetrios continued in the same manner his attack from the sea, and, in order to terrify the Rhodians further, he ordered the assault to be made to the sound of the trumpet from every side, and for no less than a week he pushed thus the onslaughts with unabated violence. He hurled stones of the weight of a talent on to the ramparts, thereby crumbling down the walls and the towers themselves which stood at intervals along them, and in one place facing the harbour his soldiers succeeded in taking possession of the defences.

The Rhodians thereupon advanced to the threatened spot in great numbers and engaged the enemy at close quarters, eventually hurling them back with much loss over the heaps of masonry, stones and general débris

which acted now somewhat as a rough defensive line of works for the besieged. The Rhodians likewise burnt many of the enemy's ships which brought their soldiers and came to wreck during this universal confusion, by removing quickly the beaks from their prows, and casting combustible material and blazing torches among them. While the Rhodians were thus defending themselves, the Demetrians, sailing in large numbers along the whole water-way, were able to set scaling ladders against the walls of the town and press on with the greater violence. This operation caused the besieged to suffer considerably, as the attack was supported on all sides by the land forces, whose war-cries and shouts of triumph answered their fellows from the sea.

Despising death, many now pressed boldly forward to the attack, and in hosts they ascended the surrounding walls, where ever-threatening attacks were met with equal tenacity. Again and again the assailants, pouring onwards from outside, were met by the frantic violence of the defenders inside, until, shattered and exhausted with the loss of many distinguished leaders and prisoners, the forces of Demetrios staggered back from the death-grapple.

Smarting under this preliminary reverse, Demetrios drew off his war-engines to a place of shelter nearer his own quarters, so that the damage might be made good where injury had occurred, for both they and some of the ships had been severely handled. The Rhodians were likewise tending their wounds and patching up the breaches wherever injury had been done to their masonry or to their engines of war. At the same time they publicly buried their dead and offered as votive offerings to the gods the arms and beaks of ships taken from the enemy.

The incident of Protogenes. It was at this time that the famous painter Protogenes, then engaged on his great picture of Ialysos, was seized by Demetrios in one of the suburbs, as Plutarch states. He adds, nearly in consonance with the honey-tongued Ælian,¹ that the artist took seven years in finishing his work, and that Apelles, the greatest of Hellenic painters, on seeing it exclaimed, "A masterpiece of labour! a wonderful performance! But it wants those graces which raise the fame of my paintings to the skies."

Having been approached by the Rhodians with a view to saving the artist and his picture, Demetrios in answer declared that he would rather burn the portraits of his father than injure so meritorious a piece of art! Pliny,² recording the same incident, says:—

"It was on account of this Ialysos, which he was apprehensive of destroying, that King Demetrios forbore from setting fire to the only side of the city of Rhodes by which its capture was possible, and thus, in his anxiety to spare a picture, did he lose his only opportunity of gaining a victory. The dwelling of Protogenes at this period was situated in a little garden in the suburbs, or, in other words, in the midst of the camp of Demetrios. The combats that were taking place made no difference whatever to the artist, and in no way prevented his proceeding with the works which he had commenced, till at last he was summoned before the king, who inquired how he could have the assurance thus to remain outside the walls. '*Because I know,*' was his answer, '*that you are waging war with the Rhodians, and not with the arts.*' Upon this the king, delighted at having the opportunity of protecting the hand which he had thus spared, ordered a guard to be placed at his disposal

¹ *Var. Hist.* XII. 41.

² *Hist. Nat.* XXXV. 36.

for the especial purpose of his protection. In order, too, that he might not distract the artist's attention by sending for him too often, he would frequently go, albeit an enemy, to pay him a visit, and abandoning his aspirations for victory, in the midst of arms and the battering down of walls, he would attentively examine the compositions of the painter. Even to this day the story is still attached to the picture he was then engaged upon, to the effect that Protogenes painted it beneath the sword. It is his Satyr known as 'Anapavomenos,' in whose hand, to mark the sense of security that he felt, the painter had placed a pair of pipes."

No doubt Pliny, when writing this, recalled with shame the way in which his fellow-countrymen had treated Archimedes, who, whilst absorbed in his mathematical studies, was brutally slain by the Roman soldiers.

Further attacks from the sea. This apparent truce was only of seven days' duration. Then Demetrios entered the harbour again, as his object was primarily to hold that and prevent ships from entering the port with provisions for the city. When he came within the range of a dart he shook the walls once more with his ponderous engines of war, and wherever it was possible he cast firebrands into the Rhodian shipping moored in the harbour, in order to burn all their goods within his reach, and by small missiles shot into their midst he tried to harry the defenders whenever they appeared and throw them into disorder.

This wild and protracted scene of arson and assault formed a terrifying and astonishing spectacle which filled the inhabitants with apprehension and concern, though the Rhodian pilots eventually succeeded in extinguishing the blazing material.

The prytaneis, recognising the imminent peril to the harbour, made strenuous appeals to the better-class citizens to strain every nerve in the common cause of saving the city at all costs. Upon this exhortation, a great many came forward to form crews for three of their most powerful ships, in order to ram with their beaks those enemy ships which bore the war-engines. The impetuosity of the onslaught of this small flotilla was such that it succeeded in smashing the floating rampart, though bound in iron, and it enabled the Rhodians to break up the shipping of Demetrios by sledge-hammer strokes, so that his vessels became water-logged after losing two of the engines, which were overthrown.

Encouraged by this local success, the Rhodians recklessly followed up the enemy, who were trying to haul away the ship which bore the third huge battering-ram. In this way they suffered loss themselves, for they were surrounded and severely damaged by the beaks of the enemy's numerous triremes, whilst they suffered the loss of Admiral Exekestos, who was taken prisoner when wounded, and of many other patriots of heroic valour. However, notwithstanding the danger incurred by this extreme intrepidity, only one ship was actually captured by the Demetrians—the fallen admiral's ship, of which the majority of the crew was destroyed or captured.

A little later Demetrios set up another war-engine, which was three times the size of the former. But, having fashioned this gigantic machine and being about to conduct it into the harbour, he came to grief. The elements again helped the Rhodians. For a hurricane suddenly arose which sank the vessels and overturned the engine that they bore. The Rhodians, seizing the chance,

hurled open a gate, and assailed those who had occupied the rampart in the harbour. A bitter and protracted struggle followed, but as Demetrios, owing to the tempest at the time, could not assist his men, whilst the Rhodians were continually reinforced by fresh troops, this force, consisting of almost four hundred combatants, was compelled to surrender unconditionally.

This fortunate episode was followed by others equally favourable to the Rhodians, for they received five hundred fighting men from Ptolemy, as well as a hundred and fifty Cnossians from Crete.

Land attacks on Rhodes. Demetrios being aware that his project for the capture of Rhodes was making no way by sea, resolved to assault the city by land, and for this purpose began to fell timber on all sides for the construction of the historic Helepolis, "the taker of cities," the largest war machine ever known.¹ Wide and square at the base, it gradually narrowed above, was divided inside into several storeys, and bound, riveted and stiffened with iron. This terrible creation, of unprecedented size, the invention, some say, of Demetrios himself, was looked upon now as the one hope of victory. The whole of this ingenious and sinister contrivance of war was wheeled about with a horrible noise on eight huge and powerful wheels, dragged forwards and backwards by three thousand four hundred of the strongest men in the great host that obeyed the king. Besides this monster, more testudoes were added for the usual purpose of filling up trenches and ditches, and for bringing forward the battering-rams under cover. He likewise made galleries, and, with the help of the seamen, he was able to level the route which the engine was to follow, so that every

¹ Athenaios, V. 40.

facility might be afforded for its advance or retreat, if the latter became expedient. Having thus completed—humanly speaking—all that could be done for the work he had placed in the hands of his thirty thousand artificers and workmen, Demetrios became the terror of the besieged and increased his claim to the name of Poliorketes, “The Besieger of Cities,” a nickname given to him for his talents at the siege of Cyprian Salamis.¹

Furthermore, the Rhodians were aware of the dangerous man they were facing, of his violence in attack and the lively resourcefulness in war which had endeared him to his soldiers. Besides this, the beautiful countenance of the king, his commanding figure and lofty stature, united with grace of manner and stately bearing, gained him admiration even from strangers and neutrals, who loved to gaze upon him. In times of peace he was a different man, addicted to drunkenness and riot, to orgy and dance; but when the grim scenes of war arose, he became at once keen, alert and vigorous, the embodiment of all that was manly and commanding.

And now the Rhodians, observing the enemy's efforts at construction and their general movements, raised another wall inside and parallel to the older belt of works which was presently to be assaulted. To this end they gathered and used the stones which had formed part of the theatre and of some temples and neighbouring houses now pulled down, and they swore to the gods that if successful in the struggle they would build yet larger and fairer.

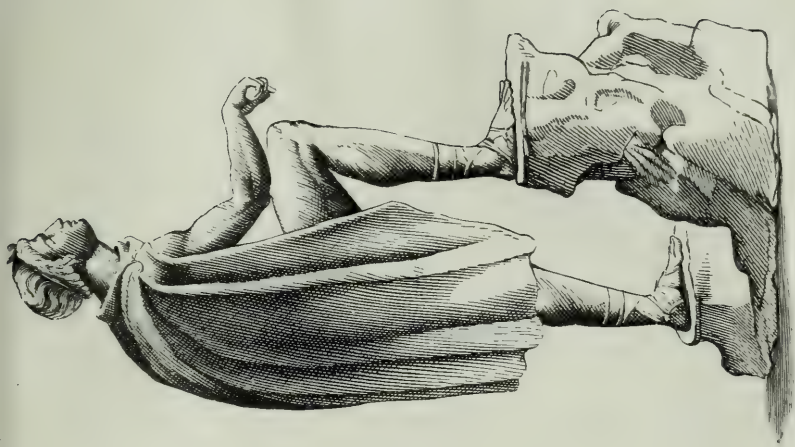
Meanwhile there were some sea engagements on a small scale, due to attempts on the Rhodian part to run the blockade by sea. For this purpose the Rhodians

¹ See Aul. Gellius, XV. 31, 1. Cf. Diod. XX. 92, 2.



As Neptune

DEMETRIOS POLIORKETES



As a Huntsman

Visconti.

had despatched nine ships under three captains with orders to sink or capture enemy transport ships. The captains decided to divide their squadron into three equal sections, thinking that thus they could effect their operations better.

One of these sections, under the command of Damophilos, sailed to Carpathos, where he surprised many of the Demetrian ships, of which he sank some and burnt others, taking back into Rhodes several heavily-laden prizes.

But more important was the exploit of the captain Menedemos, who, besides destroying important ships of Demetrios at Patara of Lycia, also took tetraremes off the coast of Cilicia, which carried a royal purple robe and other rich furniture, sent to Demetrios by his wife Phila, as a highly valued gift.

The captain, finding these garments too splendid for the simple life of a citizen, sent them on to Ptolemy, the king of Egypt and good friend of Rhodes.

Plutarch points out this lack of courtesy on the part of the Rhodians when comparing them with the Athenians, "who when they were at war with Philip, happening to take his couriers, read all the other letters, but sent him that of Olympias with the seal entire."

The same author likewise praises Demetrios because he did not avenge himself on the artist Protogenes and his work depicting Ialysos—a slight confusion of dates, for, as we know, that event occurred some months before.

It was at this time that a general assembly was called, in which the tenacity, prudence, calmness and impassivity of the people of Rhodes towards their enemies were shown in the fact that they did not destroy, as some demagogues proposed, the statues of Demetrios Poliorketes and his father, which the

Rhodians had earlier erected in the agora in honour of these kings.

This conduct draws forth the praise of Diodoros and makes other well-known historians eloquent in favour of the Rhodians when compared with the Athenians, who in one day and about the same period cast down the statues of Demetrios of Phaleron, and also with Augustus, who, when he conquered Egypt, destroyed all the statues of Antony.¹

Whilst Rhodes was rejoicing over these successes of her mariners, a deserter came in to inform the city that it was undermined, and that the miners were almost within the walls. But this information caused no uneasiness in the minds of the besieged. They constructed a counter-mine and frustrated the efforts of the enemy to bring down the defences, for they met them below the ground and prevented them from proceeding further. And it was thus, when the two parties were keeping guard of the mines, that some of the soldiers of Demetrios tried to bribe the captain of the Rhodian guard, named Athenagoras, into betraying the city. He arranged to let in by night a distinguished officer of the enemy's side, for the purpose of finding the best means of entrance into the city. The Demetrian officer came, only to find that he himself had been deceived, for he was kept as a hostage in the beleaguered city. The victim of this intrigue was the Macedonian nobleman, Alexander, and Athenagoras was lionised by the Rhodians for his clever *ruse de guerre*. A crown of gold was placed on his head, and five talents of silver were given to him as reward.

After much labour Demetrios managed to complete the construction of the enormous machines with which

¹ Plutarch's *Aemil. Paul.* VIII.

he still hoped to be able to break down the fortifications of Rhodes, and he had meanwhile employed many men to level out the land around them. Helepolis was rolled to the front and put into place with four testudoes on its side. The testudoes afforded relative protection to their crews, by galleries which, adjusted to them, offered adequate shelter whilst the men within were operating against the city. There were two further testudoes in the armament of Demetrios, which carried battering-rams resembling the beak of a ship, and were of larger size than those hitherto in use, being moved about on wheels by nearly a thousand men.

Demetrios being ready for this unrivalled attack, and every storey of the war-engine Helepolis being supplied in all manner of weapons, he despatched orders to his fleet to enter the port and its neighbourhood, whilst the military forces were to advance opposite to the other part of the wall, where approach was possible.

But when the order had gone forth and the general attack had begun, amidst the shouting of the Demetrians and the hurling of great stones against the walls, an unexpected visit to Demetrios by envoys from Cnidos prevented the progress of these operations. They arrived, bringing the hopeful tidings that if hostilities were suspended they could persuade the Rhodians to accept the terms he might be willing to offer.

Though the king hearkened to this friendly counsel and granted an armistice for the purpose of considering the proposal, the interval of truce was but short-lived. It was clear that Cnidos had not adequately gauged the true spirit of Rhodes and her firm determination. Negotiations commenced which from the beginning showed little signs of concession on either side. Eventually they collapsed.

Spurred on by irritation at the determined attitude of the Rhodians throughout the late parley, Demetrios resolved once and for ever to bring the obstinate, independent city to subjection, which he hoped to effect by the simultaneous pouring of projectiles and by wholesale battering, till the place should fairly shake and its walls crumble before his eyes.

Thus he swung again his huge machinery into action, and literally battered down one of the towers which had been considered the strongest of the place, and under the pendulum of his ponderous ram he shook the whole length of the walls which lay between the other towers, endangering the lives of any defenders who should attempt to reach the bulwarks by that way.

Though now threatened on the land side of their defences, the Rhodians had some good fortune at the same time from another direction. A great fleet with provisions arrived from Egypt, King Ptolemy having sent them three hundred thousand *artabans*¹ of corn, peas and beans. Demetrios did his best to overtake and capture this valuable store, but his fleet was unable to come up with the relief ships, which delivered their cargoes in safety. However, this did not quite complete the good luck of that moment, for Cassander added to their replenished stores by sending ten thousand *medimni* of barley, whilst Lysimachos capped this by forty thousand *medimni* of wheat and a similar quantity of barley. This was a bad affair for Demetrios. For, elated by this provisioning of their town, the Rhodians turned from the defensive into the aggressive, with the intention of destroying the Demetrian machines, which were at last seriously damaging their walls.

Gathering together a vast number of fire-balls and

¹ *Artabans* : a Persian measure, something larger than a medimnus (bushel).

several engines for the projection of fire, they placed them with other stone-hurling machines in places of vantage. In the following night they very unexpectedly opened a furious onslaught on the Helepolis, gravely wounding all the enemy's men who chanced to come within the danger zone. The Demetrians, completely surprised by the unusual and quite unexpected nature of the attack, were in anxiety for the security of their war-engines and other siege-train, and those of them who were uninjured went forward to attempt a rescue. As the night was moonless, the firebrands of the Rhodians, seething and hissing through the air, gave some light to the scene; but the projectiles flying in all directions, and unseen by the eye, could not be easily avoided by the soldiery of Demetrios. Also the great engine became dismantled, owing to the loss of some of its iron plates, and by a singular coincidence, which was fortunate for the Rhodians, flaming firebrands happened to fall on the exposed wooden part of the machine. There was reason to expect that the huge engine would be seriously impaired by fire, and Demetrios, in a state of great disquietude, sought to withdraw it speedily to safety, after saturating it with water kept in the structure for that object.

At length, to the sound of the trumpet, all those who were to move the engines gathered together and, making a great effort, they eventually succeeded in hauling all their machines out of the range of the missiles. The projectiles were gathered up the next day by the royal pages, according to instructions from the king, who wished thereby to make an estimate of the Rhodians' supply of ammunition. Of those brought in for numbering, it appears that there were of firebrands of various dimensions more than eight hundred, and of darts, so

far found, some fifteen hundred. This large discharge of flame and missiles of every description, effected in so limited a time of the night, enabled Demetrios to judge correctly of the large supply of such ammunition in the possession of the enemy.

Once more the sounds of strife diminished for a time around the city of Rhodes, whilst the besiegers buried their dead, repaired their engines and helped the injured. It was during this period of relative relief from tension and strain that the besieged were enabled to build a third wall of semi-circular design, which embraced and protected the whole of that quarter which was most exposed to attack.

In addition they dug out a deep moat round that part of the wall which had crumbled to the ground, with the object of frustrating the king's obvious intention of rushing the place at that spot. They also sent out Amyntas with clipper-built ships, who sailed to Peraia, where there were three open vessels manned by pirates, the strongest and the most skilful mariners in the service of Demetrios. After a short struggle Timocles, the chief of the pirates, was captured, together with his crews and ships. Afterwards Amyntas seized some merchant ships carrying provisions and, marvellous to say, he brought all this booty to Rhodes securely.

The monstrous engines for the demolition of the hard-pressed city having been duly repaired, Demetrios rolled them up to the walls again, and, under a shower of various missiles, he compelled the besieged to retire from the bulwarks, and then, proceeding to the battering process, he succeeded in smashing down two spans of the wall between the towers. The defenders exhibited the terrible and furious energy of fierce determination

in the fighting for the middle tower. The struggle was long and sanguinary. Tumultuous rushes of war-inflamed, blood-stained warriors, eager for distinction and the prize of victory, surged forward, only to be repulsed by a body of men whose heroic fortitude and unconquerable resolution were made more formidable by the thought that they were fighting for Rhodes, for home, for all that they loved, for all that they esteemed most precious upon earth. Some of the noblest youths of Rhodes fell in that fierce contest. Some of the bravest soldiers ever seen strewed the road with their gashed and mutilated corpses. Ameinias (or Ananias), their leader, was among the fallen; with unexampled courage he had led his devoted band of followers until a fierce onslaught came, carrying for a while all before it, and he was overborne; fighting bravely to the last, he met his death amidst a throng of foes.

At this critical moment Egypt again came to the rescue of Rhodes. Besides a large stock of provisions equal to the last consignment, the valuable reinforcement of fifteen hundred soldiers was also sent under the leadership of Antigonos, a native of Macedon.

It was about this period of the siege that fifty ambassadors came to Demetrios from Athens and other Hellenic cities. These were all directed to act as peace-makers and to urge terms at all costs. Their presence again caused a truce. There was much rhetoric and perhaps some eloquence relating to the ruin of commerce entailed in war. Both sides heard these pleadings, but the gulf separating the views of the combatants was still too wide, and the interested bearers of the olive branch went away sorrowful.

It was for night that Demetrios planned his next great effort to possess himself of Rhodes, and the

onslaught was to be directed against that part of the walls which had been demolished. Employing the *élite* of his soldiery and other picked men for the object he had in view, a force of about one thousand five hundred men, he directed them in the dead of night to creep forward stealthily to the attack.

In the midst of his army, holding himself prepared for all eventualities, Demetrios bade his officers, at a predetermined moment which would be signalled to them, to call upon all the forces to raise a loud cheer as before, and then straightway to assault the city both by land and sea. These instructions were duly carried into effect, and very shortly the chosen detachment, making for the battered wall, slew the guard at the moat, trampled over their bodies and the crumbled ruins, entered the city, and took all the places round the theatre and held the quarter gained.

The Rhodian high authority, informed of what had happened, and of the bewilderment and consternation of the people in the town, gave command that all should stand to the post of duty assigned to them in the harbour and at the walls and attempt to repel the inrush of the Demetrians within the city itself. These magistrates, taking command of the best soldiers amongst the defenders and reinforced by the men from Egypt, fell upon the soldiers of Demetrios who had gained a footing within.

At break of day Demetrios gave the signal. Thereupon his forces assaulted the port and the walls of Rhodes, cheering loudly in order to alarm the enemy and encourage the men who were about the theatre. The unfortunate non-combatants of the city, demoralised by these terrifying scenes, and thinking that the place had fallen, gave voice to loud lamentations and cries of

despair. However, there was a fierce encounter at this spot between the Rhodians and the Demetrians who had succeeded in forcing their way so far within the walls, and though the losses to both were not negligible, neither side appeared victorious at first. But, eventually, heavy Rhodian reinforcements came to the support of their comrades, and these men and youths of Rhodes, zealous for death or victory in this struggle for their beloved country, this fierce fight for all that was most precious to them in the world, attacked the intruders with such irresistible violence that the latter were overcome. Both Alkimos and Mantias, who were in command of the Demetrian detachment, and were among the bravest and strongest, were slain, after having been seriously injured. Most of the others were either killed or taken prisoners of war, but a few managed to wend their way back to the besiegers' lines and report the disaster to their sovereign.

The losses amongst the Rhodians in these fierce death-grapples were also very considerable. Damoteles, one of the prytaneis, a man who had made himself conspicuous for his indomitable courage, was amongst the slain. Many others, almost equally brave and equally illustrious, had fallen by his side. The city, indeed, had lost the flower of her manhood. Youths of noble lineage and those of more humble birth had freely offered their last sacrifice upon the altar of patriotism. The beauty of their graceful limbs, the melodious charm of their young voices, the ardent enthusiasm that burned within their souls—all these were no more. All had been given for their country. All had been sacrificed in the defence of that which they most prized—liberty, independence and their sweet island home.

The peace. Though the outlook must have damped the ardour of Demetrios to some extent, he nevertheless determined to try the fortune of war again, when a letter from Antigonos, his father, arrived, advising him to cease hostilities and come to terms with the Rhodians as soon as possible. At the same time Ptolemy, who had previously written to the islanders that he would send them further help in provisions and three thousand men, now advised them to make peace with Antigonos on any moderate terms. The motives which induced these kings to be desirous of peace seem firstly to have been prompted by the approaching commercial disaster due to the siege of Rhodes, and still more by the visible sympathy between Seleucos, Lysimachos and Cassander, which did indeed culminate at Ipsos. Mahaffy finds a further reason for this peace move on the part of Antigonos in the fact that "he, building his brilliant capital Antigoneia, on the Orontes, could hardly obtain all the appliances required when the sea was being swept by Rhodian cruisers and quasi-Rhodian pirates, and when commercial credit was shaken everywhere."¹ But this statement would seem to be baseless, because this city was built three years before (307 B.C.).

As both sides were now desirous of peace and were only seeking a pretext to conclude it, they found the opportunity in this coming of the envoys of the Ætolian commonwealth, who were sent to mediate and formulate a peace. It was then not the Athenians, as Plutarch erroneously states, who intervened.

Eventually the following peace terms were drawn up and accepted: "That the city should be autonomous and without a foreign garrison and enjoy its own

¹ *The Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 61.

revenues; that the Rhodians should join with Antigonos in his wars against all opponents except Ptolemy of Egypt, and that they should deliver a hundred citizens as hostages, such as Demetrios should make choice of, except those that were magistrates." And thus, after a whole year of siege, and that of a desperate, costly and sanguinary nature, a siege wherein extraordinarily portentous and cumbersome instruments of attack were introduced for battering down walls, Rhodes obtained better terms than had previously been offered by Demetrios, for the peace conditions were really not flattering to his pride.

We may here recall the words of Colonel Rottiers, who wrote to the king of Belgium about this event in 1822 A.D. :—

"Never was the defence of a town better maintained, and since the wonderful siege of Troy and Thebes, since the two sieges of Babylon by Cyrus and Dareius, that of Sardis by Cyrus, that of Tyre by Alexander, none is more deserving than this siege of Rhodes to take the seventh place among the ancient sieges in the history of mankind." ¹

The peace being ratified, Demetrios, out of admiration for the Rhodian defence, gave ² them all his large engines of war as a memorial of the event, and he then sailed away to the legendary Aulis of Bœotia, aiming, in accordance with his father's command, at the liberation of the Hellenes.

On the other hand, the Rhodians, overcome with joy at the nature of the peace, and wishing to express their gratitude to their supporters during the struggle, decided to commemorate the great siege in a permanent way by raising the famous Colossos. They bestowed

¹ *Descr. des Monum . . .*, p. 47.

² Plutarch's *Demetrios*, XX. 5–20.

honours and rewards upon those of their countrymen who had proved themselves faithful to their country in the hour of her danger, and all those who had carried arms in her service made free citizens of Rhodes. Besides this, they set up statues of the kings Cassander and Lysimachos and of other friends and allies who had helped the city to resist the fearful onslaught of Demetrios.

But the Rhodians were, above all, profuse in their expressions of gratitude to Ptolemy for having consulted the oracle of Ammon in Libya; they gave him honours due to the gods, and named him *Soter* (saviour). Yet the support of this sovereign, timely as it was, was not such as came from any disinterested friendship or enthusiasm for the cause of Rhodes. He doubtless disbursed a little on the provision ships and mercenaries, but he gained enormous political advantages by the resistance which the island had shown.

But though there may be ground for criticism of the Rhodian conduct, it can be forgiven somewhat if we make allowance for the spirit of that age. We also see the same kind of behaviour in many others, such as the Athenians, who likewise made gods of Antigonos and Demetrios, erecting an altar to them called the Saviours' Altar,¹ and exhibiting other extravagant forms of adoration. These peoples resembled each other in many respects. They loved liberty and beauty, and they were fond of the sea; moreover, they were exceedingly tolerant. Therefore, when Athens fell into decay, Rhodes worthily took her place.

The Rhodians, in fulfilment of their solemn promises, rebuilt the theatre and the temples that were pulled down, making them more imposing and magnificent

¹ Diodor. XX. 46, 2.

structures. Likewise, the walls that were thrown down and other damaged places were reconstructed.

The fact that the town of Rhodes was not taken greatly increased the reputation of the Rhodians in the eyes of the whole Hellenic world, and the Rhodian republic was now firmly consolidated in the hearts of the islanders, as well as in the opinion of all nations.

History clearly affirms that this momentous event marks the full dawn of the renowned greatness of Rhodian power and commerce, a greatness which was enormously increased during the third century B.C.

CHAPTER V

HELLENISTIC PERIOD

(300–130 B.C.)

After Ipsos. After the fall of Antigonos at the battle of Ipsos (301 B.C.) and the temporary retirement of Demetrios to Cyprus and the distribution of their territory between the conquerors, it seemed that any further attempt by one individual to appropriate the whole empire of Alexander would be hopeless, and that a permanent peace would ensue. Yet this did not occur. The strife between the states which arose on the break-up of that empire, most of which, as just shown, were enriched by the spoils of the collapsed dominion of Antigonos, did not end till they were absorbed by Rome. During this period of sanguinary warfare Greece was compelled to participate, and vain efforts were made by its Leagues and Federations to contend with the terrible situation and maintain their freedom.

The perpetual schisms drew the eyes of the growing neighbour, Rome, and encouraged its intervention, which, as we know, led to the prostration of the whole Hellenic world at the feet of Roman Imperialism.

During this momentous period the Dodecanese played a prominent part.

Insufficiency of historical links. But despite this very general assumption, we have but slender details on which to rely for linking the course of Rhodian history throughout that period, and less or none about the other islands. We must remember that the great

historian Polybios, who saw the Rhodians closely and studied their archives, thereby acquiring invaluable information about Rhodes, and to a certain degree about Cos, begins his histories about 220 B.C. Therefore during this period, and for some centuries following, the names of the other islands, being mere satellites of Rhodes, very seldom appear in history, as they are absorbed in the light of this island. Rhodes, like the sun in the solar system, eclipses the rest, being their centre of activity and comprising all their external political life, just as in our own days some large capitals throw their wide territories into obscurity.

Hence, when writing the history of these times, we are obliged to use the name of the largest island to cover the political movements of the whole group.

But when any incident particularly affects the other islands, we shall mention it. Such information as we possess is gleaned from fragments of various historians and inscriptions, some being very recent discoveries, and from other archæological proofs.

Salient events at the beginning of the third century. From these sources we gather that one year after the battle of Ipsos (301 B.C.) the democrats of Priene were assisted by Rhodes against their tyrant, and that the Rhodians were later on, about the year 240 B.C., invited to act as arbitrators (ἑκκλητος πόλις) in a quarrel between Priene and Samos, the cause of which was the ownership of a fort called Carion and its neighbourhood adjoining the frontiers of Priene. The Rhodian commission of five arbitrators, appointed by Rhodes, pronounced judgment in favour of Priene, which was accepted by both parties, secured peace for a long time,¹ and was, some years after the defeat of Antiochos the

¹ C. I. G. 2905 Hicks, *Inscr. British Museum*, III. sect. i. pp. 1-11.

Great (189 B.C.), reaffirmed by a decree of the Roman Senate.¹

We learn also that Cos, about the beginning of the third century, reverted more closely than before to the Lagidian dynasty, became an outpost for the Egyptian navy in the Ægean Sea, and realised the brightest period in its history.

About the same date we read that the Rhodians, animated by the liberal and tolerant Greek spirit, honoured Harmodios and Aristogeiton as heroes, and brought them offerings. This was caused by the arrival in their harbour of a ship containing the statues of these slayers of the tyrant Hipparch, which were stolen by the Persians under Xerxes and removed to their country, and were now being conveyed to Athens by Seleucos Nicator.

It is also reported that during the same period the enterprising Rhodian spirit found the occasion for applying its gifts in the vast Persian territories, which were opened by Alexander the Great to Greek energy and enterprise.

Amongst the Greek populations which streamed into these lands, where flourishing centres of trade and culture were founded, the Rhodians took a leading part, and we find that Ptolemy Philadelphos bought books in Rhodes, and from there had selected his physician.

About the beginning of the third century Rhodes took an active part in the attempt to suppress the widespread piracy which had been a special scourge of the eastern Mediterranean from the dawn of history, and which the various lords of the sea were either unwilling or unable to put down, since, as was sometimes the case, they were in practical alliance with piracy itself. Proof

¹ Hicks, *ibid.* p. 20, lines 10 ff.

of this energetic enterprise is a treaty formulated between the Rhodians and Hierapytna of Crete, to whom they were related by blood, and with whom from most ancient times they had been very friendly. The Rhodians were thus following their old lines of maintaining order for commerce on the high seas.

The invasion of the Celts. The Coans, who espoused the welfare of all the Hellenes, on hearing that Apollo had vindicated his sanctuary against the invasion of Celts (Gauls) (279) by the same supernatural power as he employed when he drove back the Persians, issued a proclamation of public thanksgiving. In this resolution we read that they decided to send a mission to offer sacrifice to Apollo at Delphi in order to make manifest the joy of the Coans at the victory of the Greeks and their gratitude to the gods for the security that they had granted to Hellas.

A portion of this Gallic invading force which had escaped destruction passed over into Galatia, so named after them, in Asia Minor. Antiochos Soter, king of Syria, opposed them and owed his success in the struggle against them to the advice of an ingenious Rhodian, Theodotos, a brigand-chief, which shows that the high military genius displayed by the Rhodian commanders, Memnon and Mentor, who were greatly esteemed by Artaxerxes (340–338 B.C.), was still alive in the race.

The Chremonidean war. During the great struggles between the kings Ptolemy, Evergetes I., of Egypt, Seleucos Callinicos of Syria, and Antigonus Gonatas of Macedon, the Rhodians took strong action against Ptolemy, whose influence seemed to be paramount and threatened the balance of power amongst the prevalent states of the Hellenistic world. Rhodes, in throwing

herself against Egypt, was departing from her own traditional friendship towards that state, but she did so for her consistent and great purpose of preventing any kingdom from gaining preponderance on the sea. This intervention was very important, for the island was able to contribute a matchless fleet which took a large share in saving the allies, and as Tarn says, "had given the world an object lesson of what one free city could still do, and had begun to make good the proud boast that every Rhodian was worth a warship."¹

About these troubled times we have no fixed dates, and the historians give us no connected details.² We are obliged, therefore, to confine ourselves to apparent results.

We first see that the Rhodian assistance was remunerated by the gift of the city of Stratonikeia. But there is the question, which has been debated, as to who was the giver and what was the date. Some say that Seleucos II. was the donor, others refer it to Antiochos I., Soter, and others to Antiochos III., the Great; and the dates given vary between 277, 239, 229 and 197 B.C.

It is also recorded that an Egyptian squadron under the Athenian Chremonides was defeated by the Rhodian admiral Agathostratos Polyaratou, an event which has been placed in the Chremonidean war, which continued from 258-252,³ or 266-259,⁴ though others place it in the year 246 or 244.⁵ During the same year, or perhaps a year later, the combined forces of Egypt were destroyed near the island of Cos by the allied squadrons under Antigonos Gonatas, who thereby took over the mastery of the Ægean Sea and the possession of

¹ *Antig. Gon.* p. 85.

² Gelder, *Gesch. der alten Rhodier*, pp. 197-9. Cf. Polyb. XXX. 31, 6 f., 7.

³ Gelder, *ibid.* p. 110.

⁴ Smith, Hicks and Paton.

⁵ Kinch, II. *Rapport*, p. 12. III. *Rapport*, p. 26.

Delos, the sacred centre of the league of the islanders (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν νησιωτῶν), which was founded by Rhodes under the auspices of Ptolemy Soter during the year 308 B.C., and existed for about one hundred years.¹

This league of the islanders raised a statue at Delos to Agathostratos as a token of gratitude for his victory, which chronologically is so hopelessly disputed.

But all these shiftings and manœuvres brought Cos into a troublesome position, and into a temporary estrangement from its natural friend Rhodes, for Cos remained on the side of Egypt, being probably unable, as well as unwilling, to alter the policy which had hitherto favoured Ptolemy. So it naturally followed that when the news reached Cos of the appearance of Antigonos in the Ægean, there was much alarm in the island, and envoys were sent in all directions to get the recognition from the various states that the famous Asclepieion in the island should be held as inviolable.

Rhodian hegemony. But the naval supremacy of Macedon, which succeeded that of Egypt, having been short-lived, this power devolved again into the hands of Rhodes, and its protection of the league was revived. This caused great enthusiasm and self-satisfaction in the Dodecanese, for Rhodes became the leader of many Greek republics and small dynasts, and the protector of Delos. Thus was established the *Rhodian hegemony*, and in the same waters and with the same centre, where a century before Athens had prevailed, now the skilful policy of the Rhodians tended to restrain them from establishing a despotism over the league such as had been put up by Sparta and Athens. So the

¹ Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, pp. 77 f., 378.—The author thinks that the league was founded between 315 and 308 B.C. either by or under the auspices of Antigonos I. (Cf. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, Vol. XXIX. (1909), pp. 264 f.)

Ægean Sea, lately Macedonian, was turned into a Rhodian lake.

And now, too, Rhodes was sufficiently strong to prevent any single potentate from conquering any islands of the eastern Mediterranean, whereby the commerce and general welfare of the islands might have been impaired.

This happy position of Rhodes was also beneficial to Cos, which, adhering to the former's policy, had great prosperity, and increased its territory by the annexation of Calymna.

Polybios' eulogy. The great earthquake of Rhodes. Polybios, writing about this policy of the Rhodians, shows that he was very deeply impressed by their diplomatic skill and foresight, and praises very highly their brilliant and far-sighted statesmanship in the management of public affairs.¹ He also explains how by it they extended their prestige widely, as was revealed at the time of the great earthquake, which in the year 227 B.C.² almost destroyed the city of Rhodes and overthrew the famous Colossos, which had stood there for about fifty-six years, and was one of the wonders of the world.

The most illustrious sovereigns of that time in Sicily, Syria, Asia Minor and Egypt, such as Gelon, Ptolemy, Seleucos and Antigonos, Prusias, as well as many free states of Asia Minor, hastened to the assistance of stricken Rhodes, pouring into the island much wealth, by means of which, to a considerable degree, Rhodes was rapidly restored to her previous prosperity.

The gifts sent by all these communities are enumerated by Polybios³ in a long list, in which he eulogises the generosity of the givers.

¹ V. 90, 5, XXX. 5. See also Diod. XX. 81, and Strabo XIV. 2, 5.

² Others date the event as occurring in the year 225, 224 or 222.

³ V. 88-90.

On the occasion of this disaster the Rhodians once more, as Polybios continues, displayed their diplomatic aptitude in the management of peoples, by the fact that they made the donors feel that it was their duty to raise Rhodes up again, and to consider themselves happy in the acceptance by the Rhodians of their lavish donations.¹

But in this event we also find clearly revealed the strong racial sentiment which always bound together the whole Greek world. Notwithstanding frequent differences in the policy and the circumstances of its components, the Hellenistic world admirably demonstrated its collective cohesion and solidarity, new instances of which have been constant in modern times, as seen in the yearning for Greek independence and complete emancipation in order to form a true national commonwealth.

Some historians, judging history as practical and unimaginative men, see in this unanimous assistance to Rhodes a sign of business interest only. They fail to recognise in it anything but financial speculation.

As Rhodes at that time was inferior in wealth only to Alexandria and Carthage, and was, moreover, the centre of the commerce of the Hellenistic world, these historians declare that the help was prompted by self-interest and the fear that a commercial crisis, involving destruction of the whole Mediterranean trade and credit, might follow unless Rhodes was re-established.

It is also noteworthy how rapidly the Rhodians recovered from that great calamity, owing to their industry and frugality, for up to the end of the third Macedonian war (within fifty years or so) Rhodes enjoyed her greatest prosperity.

Conflict with Byzantium. Another instance of the

¹ V. 88, 4.

catholic spirit and love of freedom permeating the Rhodians, who often were led thereby to sever friendships and sacrifice interests, was given when they drew the sword against Byzantium (220 B.C.). This city levied taxes (*παραγώγιον*)¹ on ships trading between the Black Sea and Greece, thereby crippling commerce and interfering with the liberty of the sea.

The Rhodians, being appealed to by the commercial world, as recognised masters of the sea,² employed (220 B.C.) their diplomatic skill, supported by all their naval forces, for conciliation. But Byzantium did not apparently reciprocate this peaceful attitude. Consequently Rhodes was obliged to wage war against Byzantium for the general welfare of the peoples of the Ægean and also of the commercial cities on the mainland. The conclusion of this commercial war was a complete success for the Rhodian liberal policy, which embraced the interests of so many peoples. The Byzantians were compelled by a treaty to stop the levy of any toll upon ships sailing into Pontos, and to acknowledge the straits as an open waterway for shipping.³

The magnanimous Rhodians did not seek an indemnity nor the humiliation of their late enemies and quondam allies, but they demanded and obtained only the restoration of the old maritime laws and regulations.

Maintenance of the freedom of the sea. A little later, and for a like reason, the Rhodians employed their fleet in a demonstration against Attalos I., king of Pergamos, and against the king of Pontos (220 B.C.).

Again we may observe the determination of the Rhodians to protect legitimate commerce and maintain the freedom of the seas and their own hegemony in the

¹ Polyb. IV. 47, 4.

² *Ibid.* 2.

³ *Ibid.* III. 2, 5, IV. 37-8.

Ægean (*Cycladibus omnibus præposita*)¹ in their continual attempts to suppress piracy. For this purpose they enlisted the aid of the Cretans and prepared to attack Demetrios of Pharos. Demetrios was the friend and admiral of Philip V. of Macedon, and at one time wished to overrun the Cyclades for the purpose of plunder; but he was obliged to retire ignominiously when he learnt that Rhodian ships were coming to attack him (219 B.C.).²

Vigilance over the independence and union of Greece. The ambitious policy and secret military advances of Philip in Greece aroused the suspicion of Rhodes, always the vigilant champion of the public will, which saw that a new danger was menacing freedom by the forming of a great monarchy within the Hellenic world, and by the incorporating of many Greek communities within its grip.

The Rhodians also saw the dark and lowering clouds which were gathering in the west; and they trembled for Greek independence. Therefore they sought an immediate union of the whole Greek race and sent ambassadors, united with those of Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the Athenians and the Chians, to meet Philip V., then at war with the Ætolians, and endeavour to put an end to hostilities between them. They met him at Phalara, a place situated in the Malian Bay (218). He received them in audience with Amynander, king of the Athamanians, whom the Ætolians had appointed as a mediator. Philip declared that he was always ready to arrange peace with the Ætolians and sent all of them to Ætolia to prepare preliminaries.

The ambassadors returned from Ætolia, reporting that they had arranged a truce of thirty days and asserting

¹ Gelder, *Gesch. der alt. Rhod.* p. 113, n. 1.

² Polyb. IV. 19.

that the Ætolians were disposed to accept peace. But the conflict of interests at this time was so great, and the conditions proposed so numerous, that to make merely a summary of them would fill a voluminous book.

Therefore, to be brief, we may say that the energetic efforts of the envoys came to nothing, and that matters continued to drift. No happier was the termination of the negotiations made by other ambassadors of Rhodes and Ptolemy, who met Philip at Elateia a little later. Two years after, new ambassadors of Rhodes, with those of Chios, Byzantium and King Ptolemy, came to Philip to negotiate terms of peace. It was about that time that he captured and sacked Thebes. The answer they received was like the former, that they should go and find out the intentions of the Ætolians.

It was then that the news of the great defeats of the Romans by the Carthaginian general, Hannibal, at Lake Trasimene (217) and at Cannæ reached Philip; and his admiral suggested to him immediately that he should make peace with the Ætolians and settle all disputes with the Greeks, and direct all his efforts towards Italy. Thus he would be paving the way to a universal empire. The king, following this advice, sent an embassy under Xenophanes into Italy to Hannibal, with whom a treaty of alliance was contracted for Philip in 215 B.C. The envoys were successful (215) in their mission to Ætolia, and a conference of peace at Naupactos took place, memorable for the speech made before Philip and the allies by the Ætolian Agelaos, whose powerful and eloquent appeal for Greek union under Philip is reproduced by Polybios.¹ Agelaos said that the most desirable thing for the Greeks was that they should never go to war with each other, but should give the gods thanks if,

¹ V. 104.

all speaking with one voice, and for one purpose, and joining hands, like people crossing a stream, they might be able to repel the attacks of barbarians and save themselves and their cities. They must be unanimous and watchful at that crisis, when they saw the extensive armaments and the vast proportions assumed by the war in the west. For even then it was evident to anyone who gave the slightest attention to public affairs, that whether the Carthaginians conquered the Romans, or the Romans defeated the Carthaginians, it was in every way improbable that the victors would remain contented with the empire of Italy and Sicily. They would move forward, and extend their designs and forces further than the Greeks could desire. Wherefore, he besought them all to be on their guard against the momentous crisis, and above all he appealed to the king to meet it by abandoning the policy of weakening the Greeks, and thus rendering them an easy prey to the invader, and to take counsel, on the contrary, for their good as he would for his own person, and in general to care for all parts of Greece alike, as part and parcel of his own domains. If he were to act in this spirit the Greeks would be his good friends and faithful supporters in all his undertakings; while the foreigners would be less ready to form designs against him, seeing with dismay the firm loyalty of the Greeks towards him. For if he (Philip) once allowed the clouds then gathering in the west to settle upon Greece, Agelaos feared exceedingly that the power of making peace or war would be completely taken out of Greek hands.

Had this advice been followed by the speaker's countrymen and always thereafter by all the Hellenic people, Philip, then fighting with Rome, would not have failed in completing the unification of Hellas, and neither

the Romans nor the later Latins, nor even the Turks, would have trampled on the liberty and lands of Greece. As Shakespeare says :—

“ There is a tide in the affairs of men
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune ;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.”

It was on such a full sea that Greece was now afloat. In the same spirit and in order to arrest the internecine and fratricidal war which was then being waged between the two kings, Ptolemy and Antiochos, the Rhodians accepted (in 219) the invitation to intervene with Byzantium, Kyzikos and the Ætolians, and to discuss the terms of a treaty. Though these negotiations lasted long and gave rise to endless controversy, they did not arrive at any result. The fundamental difference of interests of the rival kings seemed to have induced them only to gain time in order to arm for further war.

But the Panhellenic soul of Greece was once more expressed by Thrasykrates, the envoy of Rhodes, who in 207 B.C. declared at Heracleia before the assembly of the Ætolians that their war against Philip was tending really to the enslavement and ruin of Greece. He came there with other ambassadors from King Ptolemy of Egypt, Byzantium, Chios and Mytilene for the purpose of extinguishing the flame of war which had again burst out in 211 B.C. between Philip and the Ætolians, through the selfish policy of Rome, which had almost always been directed to undermine the growing unity of the Greek people and to keep opposed to each other the most vigorous sections of it. Montesquieu, summing up the situation of Hellas at that time, writes :—

“ Greece was redoubtable by its situation, by its power, by the multitude of its cities, the number of its soldiers, its police, its customs, its laws ;

Greece liked war, understood its art, and, had she been united, would have been invincible.”¹

This recalls to one's mind a still older and perhaps more authentic opinion, that of Aristotle, who said, “If Greece could be formed into one state it would be able to rule the world.”

Roman intervention in Greece. The Romans had been deeply impressed and alarmed by the Carthaginian advance into Italy, and they became suspicious on seeing that Philip was fighting the other Greek states only in a half-hearted way. They feared a union of the Greeks against Rome, and they therefore sought to fan the flames of ancient Greek rivalries and antipathies which had been dying out since the Congress at Naupactos, endeavouring thereby to set the Greek communities once more in conflict with each other. For this purpose an alliance was formed between Rome and the Ætolians, Attalos and others, which was directed against Philip of Macedonia (in 211 B.C.). Sulpicius Galba was the Roman legate who carried out this policy and who, later on (208), with lavish and false promises and copious intrigues, succeeded in preventing the Ætolians from coming to an understanding with Philip and with other Greeks, and in persuading them to sign a shameful treaty with Rome.

It was in protest against this treaty and its terrible consequences for all Hellenes that the Rhodian orator we previously mentioned raised his voice, and with prophetic eloquence and foresight warned all his listeners of the great and approaching danger, a danger which history has too well verified.

This epoch-making speech made a considerable impression on the audience, and when Sulpicius Galba

¹ *Considérations sur la grandeur et la décadence des Romains*, ch. v.

rose to reply, the crowd would not listen to his oration, but shouted that the ambassador had spoken well. We read also that the envoys of Philip immediately declared that they were ready to conclude peace, if the Ætolians would meet them in a like spirit, and also that the Ætolians were prepared to come to terms with the king, in opposition to their understanding with Rome, and Galba found much difficulty in appeasing them.

The words of the Rhodian speaker are handed down to us by Polybios,¹ and stand out in letters of fire before the eyes of all Greeks; because when adopted as a policy by their statesmen they have invariably given union and added lustre and power to their country.

These efforts of the Rhodians, supported by other Greeks, and repeatedly renewed, terminated, notwithstanding the opposition of Galba, in the desired peace between Philip and the Ætolians (205 B.C.). A little later Philip also made peace with the Romans, on condition that neither party should do any harm to the friends of the other.

Ambitions and short-sighted policy of Philip. This would have been a momentous day if Philip had acted on the lines laid down by his admiral Demetrios of Pharos and Thrasycrates; then those men who had believed in his great kingly qualities when he was young, and had looked up to him as the sovereign² who would not only restore Macedonia to her ancient dignity, but who alone could check the encroachment by the Roman power, which was extending on all sides, would not have over-rated his capacity.³ So history might have seen another record not only of Greece, but of the world as well.

Philip, on the contrary, began to return (208) to

¹ XI. 4 f.

² See also Polyb. IV. 77 for the character of this king.

³ Plutarch's *Æm. Paul.* VIII.

his old policy of breaking up the Greek commonwealth in pursuit of his limitless ambition of subjecting the Greek dominions to his rule. But thereby he sealed his own fate as well as the doom of the Hellenic world.

Montesquieu, criticising this policy of Philip, says that he suddenly became a cruel tyrant, at a time when he ought to have been just, both in policy and in ambition. He irritated the Greeks by his small usurpations, and by three or four bad actions he rendered himself odious and detestable to them.

The Rhodians apprehended with no uncertain prescience that Philip was following a treacherous course (204 B.C.), which has been well chronicled by Polybios.

Following his policy, he employed not too scrupulous means. He intrigued amongst the Cretans to make war on Rhodes, with which they had always been on very good terms, and at the same time he sent Heracleides, a clever but very unprincipled man, to destroy the Rhodian fleet. This thoroughly corrupt man acquired his guile in diplomacy during his contact with Rome, which, according to Polybios, induced him to hand over his native city Tarentum to the Romans.

The purpose of Philip was to annihilate the power of the Ægean states, of which Rhodes was the mighty head, and they were to be the stepping-stones to his conquest of Egypt, which he was anxious to undertake before Rome could free herself from Hannibal. Therefore he made a shameful treaty with Antiochos III. (the Great) against the infant king of Egypt, Ptolemy Epiphanes (202 B.C.)—not Philopator, as Appian erroneously says—and claimed as his portion a part of the boy's kingdom and the cities of Ionia and the Cyclades islands.

Heracleides' conduct. The Rhodians more fully

comprehended the double-faced policy of Philip when they heard of his action in Crete. It was more completely revealed to them by Heracleides, when he sailed to Rhodes for the purpose of propitiating their feelings and disarming their suspicions. But such trust as they put in him soon passed away, for, on secretly quitting Rhodes in a boat, he left its arsenal in flames.

Philip pretended that this act was unworthy, but he still retained Heracleides in favour and credit and, by thus raising him to so great a power, constituted him the most influential instrument in the overthrow of the great Macedonian monarchy.

Alliance against Philip. During the spring of the same year, 202 B.C., Philip began to mature his plans and designs by the capture in time of peace of the free cities Lysimacheia, Perinthos, Calchedon, Kios and the island of Thasos, all in the neighbourhood of Propontis, and allied, not only with Egypt, but also with the Ætolians, or Byzantium, or the king of Bithynia. It was on the strength of this fact that the Rhodians and their allies saw that peace was no longer possible, although they had consistently tried to mediate through envoys in favour of these cities and particularly of Chios, which was threatened with destruction by the Macedonian fleet. The wrecking of Chios by Philip, the devastating of a part of the territory of King Attalos and the assailing of Pergamos itself, not to mention the ravaging of the Rhodian mainland and the monstrous treachery displayed by the same ruler towards the envoys of Rhodes, and even to the Rhodians themselves, so infuriated this people that they became his implacable enemies, and would not henceforth listen to a word in his favour.¹

The king of Pergamos, Byzantium, Chios and others

¹ Polyb. XV. 22.

joined the Rhodians and united their forces, compelling Philip to fight a great sea-battle in the Straits of Chios (201). The allies were victorious, though the Macedonians fought bravely. But the glory of the day remained entirely with the Rhodians, because Attalos and the other allies did little of the fighting. The victory, however, was a sombre one, because the Rhodian admiral Theophiliscos fell, like Nelson, mortally wounded in the hour of victory.

The loss of this man was indeed a fatal blow to his country, as became evident in the events which immediately followed. One feature of these was the seizure of the Rhodian cities on the mainland by Philip, and another the fact that the same king recrossed the Hellespont (200 B.C.) without any molestation. Had he been attacked there, he would probably have been destroyed and the liberty of Greece would have been retained, and the intervention of Rome in Greek affairs, we repeat, would have been delayed, if not quite prevented from reaching the record of history.

The fateful issue. The Romans on Greek soil. A third striking testimony was that the Rhodians had followed Attalos in his friendly policy towards Rome, which Theophiliscos during his life rejected. He wished that the war should be waged against Philip without the assistance of Rome, which had already incorporated the Greeks of Italy and was waiting, like a beast of prey, to spring upon the rest of the Hellenic world.

The serious consequence was that, to please Attalos and gain his support, envoys were sent by Rhodes to Rome, as also from Athens and other allies, complaining against Philip. Thus Rome was now considered to be the arbiter of Eastern affairs, and the power working

for the maintenance of the oriental equilibrium. And here we recall the expressive words of Mahaffy¹: "From this time onward, for half a century there was hardly a moment when crowds of ambassadors were not besieging the senate-house, and trying to bribe or persuade influential people at Rome to get them a hearing." This appeal of the delegation of the allies offered the desired opportunity to the Romans, who had long waited for it, to obtain landing-places as bases of operation, if possible, without bloodshed.

In the spring of 200 B.C. the towns of the coast of the Hellespont gradually submitted to Philip, Abydos alone offering a long resistance. During the siege of this town one of the Roman envoys approached the king, directing him, in accordance with their message from the Senate, to cease the siege of Abydos, not to molest the Rhodians, nor the Athenians, nor Attalos, not to wage war on any Greek state and not to interfere in the dominions of Ptolemy, otherwise he would promptly have war with Rome. Philip replied that it would be good if the Romans would adhere to the terms of the treaty which they had made with him, and he continued his operations and, under tragic circumstances, captured the city of Abydos. It was then, very suddenly and like a bolt from the blue, that there came to his ears the news that the Romans had landed in Epirus (199 B.C.) and had declared war against him.

Flamininus. Congress of Nikaia. Meanwhile in Rhodes the old principle prevailed which actuated Rhodian policy during ages to the effect that the intervention of the foreigner would be always harmful to the freedom of Greece. Therefore the islanders were ready to listen to an embassy from the Achæans urging them

¹ *Alexander's Empire*, p. 247.

to make peace with Philip. But unfortunately the arrival of delegates from Rome with an opposite policy upset these arrangements.

During two years matters wavered without any certain conclusion. What determined the change was the arrival of the consul T. Quintus Flamininus (198), who was a young man of affable disposition, with pro-Hellenic sympathies and an excellent knowledge of Greek language and literature. Flamininus, according to Plutarch, conceived that to beat Philip quickly it would be necessary to deprive him of all resources which might be obtained from Greece, and to carry the war from Epirus to the heart of Greece. In Greece proper Flamininus hoped to prevail by diplomacy, of which the most popular argument was the cry, "Freedom of all Greece." By this energetic policy Rome would derive two advantages: one would be that the Roman supremacy would be secured in Epirus and in the Ionian seas, a perennial question of Italian policy even to-day; the other would be the removal of every influence of the Macedonians from Greece. There he would bring success nearer and give the Greeks evident testimony of Roman disinterestedness, and detach from Philip all Greek states allied with him, more especially the league of the Achæans. Furthermore, the moment was favourable, as the new strategos of the Achæans, Aristainos by name, was, as Livy writes, a warm partisan of the alliance of the league with Rome. For this alliance Flamininus sent ambassadors to Sikyon, where there also arrived those of Rhodes, Pergamos, Athens and Philip. The result was the fulfilment of the desired bond (198 B.C.), but not until after a full and exhaustive discussion, because a very strong party, as Pausanias affirms, had perceived that Rome wished to establish her domina-

tion in Greece, and, as Appian reports, hated the Romans for some outrages against Greece committed by the late general Sulpicius Galba.

When Philip learned of this alliance he became anxious and, as soon as the propitious moment presented itself, he sought to open negotiations for peace with Flaminius.

The latter accepted this proposal, and a congress took place at Nikaia in Locris, early in the year 197 B.C., which lasted three days. To this congress came Philip, Flaminius, the Athamanian King Amynder, envoys of King Attalos and of Rhodes, as well as commissioners of the Ætolians, of the Achæans, and of other cities.

When the congress assembled, Flaminius, speaking first, demanded in the name of the Roman Senate that Philip should evacuate Greece entirely. After the representatives of Attalos had spoken, the Rhodian Akecimbrotos, in consistence with the broad-minded policy of his country, demanded that Philip should evacuate Peraia, which he had taken from them, withdraw his garrisons from Iasos, Bargylia and Euromos, restore the Perinthians to their political union with Byzantium, and evacuate Sestos and Abydos, as also all commercial ports and harbours in Asia. The demands of the other ambassadors followed.

The result of this congress was that Philip made many concessions, the only one granted to Rhodes being the restoration of Peraia. It was also decided to send envoys to the Senate for the solution of the whole controversy.

Volcanic eruption. It was at this time (196) that a small island between Thera and Therasia came to birth, owing to volcanic action, and the Rhodians, the masters of the sea, as Strabo says, had the temerity to

sail to the place and founded there a temple to the Asphaleios (protecting from danger) Poseidon.

The various envoys came to Rome, but no Rhodians were amongst them. The debate took place before the Senate, and the result was that Philip was ordered to withdraw his garrisons from Chalkis, Corinth and Demetrias. The Greeks declared that if these cities were subject to Macedonia they would act as "*fetters* on Greece," in accordance with the opinion of Philip himself, and that they would remove all thought of liberty for Hellas. The garrison at Chalkis would threaten the Bœotians, the Eubœans and the Locrians, the other at Corinth would obstruct the gateway to the Peloponnese, and the third at Demetrias would keep guard over the Ætolians and the Magnesians. These orders of the Senate were not accepted by Philip, and war was to be continued.

The battle of Kynos-Kephalai. The Treaty of Tempe. Meanwhile Flamininus, confirmed in his command and reinforced both by Roman legions and by many new Greek allies, who were attracted by his active diplomacy and formidable force, hastened to meet Philip, and at Kynos-Kephalai in Thessaly (197) he compelled the Macedonians, after a brilliant stand, to retreat to Tempe. So Philip was defeated and the question now arose, whether peace was to be concluded with him or whether the war was to continue *à outrance* till the complete annihilation of the power of the king had been achieved.

The Senate and the Roman people had very definite motives for desiring peace. They had just emerged from an exhausting war with Carthage, they wished for a free hand in case the Carthaginians should again attack Rome, and they also sought to concentrate their thoughts on the Occident. When, therefore, some days later, Philip made advances to Flamininus of a pacific nature,

the latter welcomed them, granted a truce of fifteen days, and agreed to an interview with him at the pass of Tempe. But in order to be correct from a diplomatic point of view Flamininus invited the allies to join in the deliberations for establishing the conditions of peace with Philip.

On the appointed day the representatives of the allies met Flamininus and discussed the matter at stake. The following day Philip appeared, and on the third, when the whole congress sat for discussion, the preliminary terms were settled (187) and an armistice of four months was arranged in order to allow the Senate time to ratify the treaty.

Philip had made every possible compromise for an immediate settlement, because his enemies were becoming aggressive. Amongst others were the Rhodians, who, assisted by mercenaries of various nationalities, had already, under the command of Pausistratos, invaded Caria and severely defeated at Alabanda Macedonian forces nearly as numerous, led by Deinocrates.

There is reason to believe, as Livy states, that had the Rhodians, after this victory, rapidly proceeded to Stratonikeia, they would have taken that city without a struggle. But they lingered in order to recapture the forts and villages of Peraia, which had been in the possession of their ancestors. This gave Deinocrates time to collect his troops and prepare to withstand the attack effectively when it came later on. Flamininus also had tried to be more conciliatory, because he felt that Philip should not be too hard pressed, for he might otherwise unite with Antiochos and Ptolemy, and so create a fighting force with which Rome could not safely contend. Flamininus knew all these circumstances, but he also had personal reasons for ending the war.

Fuller description of this general inclination towards peace can be read in the writings of Polybios, Livy, Plutarch and Appian.

Although the Senate found the preliminary terms very moderate and lenient, the Roman people voted for peace, and ten commissioners were sent to Flamininus as counsellors, bringing with them the ratified decree of the Senate, with other definite instructions as to the final clauses of the treaty. The essence of this treaty was announced at the Isthmian games (196) by a herald in these words: "The Roman people and Senate, and Flamininus their general, having defeated the Macedonians and Philip, their king, leave Greece free from foreign garrisons and not subject to tribute, to live under her own customs and laws." A scene of general jubilation followed, because the liberation of European and Asiatic Greece was declared, though on the other hand this Roman policy, for once truly benevolent to Greeks, contained elements likely to widen the chasm between Macedonia and Greece.

Polybios gives us correctly the contents of the treaty, the first clause of which is very important, for it shows that Livy and other historians are incorrect in stating that the Rhodians according to the treaty re-occupied Stratonikeia and other cities of Caria, which were captured by Philip in 201 B.C.

The inexactitude of their statements is obvious when we examine this first clause, which says, "all other Greeks, whether in Asia or in Europe, to be free and enjoy their own laws," and when we scan again the lines of Polybios, which state that the commissioner of Rome, P. Lentulus, sailed to Bargylia and announced its freedom. If Livy and the others had been correct in their information, this place would have been in

Rhodian hands at that time and could not be declared free.

We can only conclude in the light of the treaty that the Rhodians did not succeed in respect to their claims on the Asiatic mainland.

War of Rhodes against Antiochos. It is not recorded whether the Rhodians took part in the battle of Kynoskephalai; on the other hand, if that did not occur, we know that they waged a war against the Macedonians in Caria with some success, and also against the ally of Philip, Antiochos the Great, who, after the defeat of the former by the Romans, was seized with fantastic ambitions. Wishing to extend his rule, he began to seize the coast cities of the Hellespont and the Northern Ionia, and subjugate many warlike barbarian nations.

In defence of the freedom of the cities of Asia Minor, now menaced by the advance of Antiochos, the Rhodians felt obliged to take the field against him. This action on the part of Rhodes was of material advantage to the Romans, who were more afraid of Antiochos than of any man after Hannibal. For he had won almost all the former dominions of Seleucos Nicator in Asia, had conquered new regions, and was impatient to cross swords with the Romans, whom he deemed to be the only men worthy of his steel. It was for this reason that Roman diplomacy was continually exerted, and especially during the prevalence of hostilities between Rome and Philip, to frustrate any combination of the forces of Antiochos with those of Philip and to avoid every external complication with him. Furthermore, this policy of the Rhodians was in consonance with their profoundest precepts of statesmanship, in preserving the balance of power in the eastern waters of the Mediterranean, for

in default of such the liberty of the Ægean islands and of Greece itself would be lost.

War against Nabis. Great also was the help rendered by the Rhodians to the Romans, when these raised their hand against the astute tyrant of Sparta, Nabis (195), and determined on his overthrow by force.

Alliance with Rome against Antiochos. The Rhodians, always in love with the cause of liberty, and dreading tyranny, were indignant at the conduct of Antiochos, when he declined to leave the free Asiatic states and other cities, which he had taken from Philip and Ptolemy, although he was ordered to do so by the ten Commissioners, and this caused the islanders to look more sympathetically towards Rome.

This persistent obstinacy on the part of Antiochos compelled the Roman Senate to send an embassy to protest against this policy, but Antiochos confined himself to an arrogant retort, stigmatising their insolence in meddling with his affairs.

The arrival of Hannibal at the court of Antiochos about this time, and the activity of the Ætolians, who considered themselves aggrieved by the Roman treaty with Philip, caused Antiochos to resist the Romans more strenuously and to make a descent with an army into Greece to seek alliances. The more easily to attract them, he pretended to come as liberator of the Hellenes. The Romans made it a *casus belli*, and Manius Acilius, sent by them to Greece, took over the supreme command of the Roman forces. These he had led, together with his increased Greek allies, near to the immortal pass of Thermopylæ, where Antiochos had encamped. Marcus Cato, the energetic legionary tribune in the army of Manius, recollecting, as Plutarch says, the famous circuit of the pass which the Persians once made, and

finding a second Ephialtes, first threw his troops against the guileless Ætolians, whilst the consul himself hurled his whole force against Antiochos's front in files and stormed his fortifications. The army of the king was crushed (191 B.C.), and Cato was sent to Rome to announce the Roman triumph. The news aroused boundless joy in Rome, and the people, drunk with the glory of their easily and swiftly gained victory over the formidable Antiochos, now felt that Roman power was irresistible both on land and sea.

In their campaign against Antiochos the Romans were very materially assisted by Eumenes II., the king of Pergamos, and by the Rhodians.

The aid of the latter was of signal service to the Romans. Indeed, at the sea battle off Phocaia, on the issue of which Antiochos had staked his fate and which proved so disastrous to him, the Romans owed their victory to the wonderful seamanship and bravery of the Rhodians.

The news of this great naval victory was received with unmeasured joy in Rome and with equal despair by Antiochos, who saw that he had lost, for the time, that sea-power on which his communications depended and without which the continuance of his empire was impossible.

Therefore Antiochos, feeling the desperate nature of the situation, strained every nerve to gather together all the resources he could muster for strengthening his navy and army as much as was possible.

Rhodian naval disaster. In this effort he was the more encouraged by the news which reached him, that a Rhodian fleet of thirty-six ships, under the command of Pausistratos,¹ had been almost destroyed at Samos by his admiral Polyxenidas. This man was a Rhodian exile

¹ According to Polybios and Livy, or Pausimachos according to Appian.

and renegade, a type of which there are, happily, very few instances in the naval history of Rhodes. Antiochos was also greatly pleased by learning that this disaster, which was caused by a disgraceful ruse, once more brought Phocaia, Samos and Cume to his side and compelled the Romans to limit the activity of their fleet and to raise the siege of Abydos. This ruse happened under the following circumstances. The Rhodian administrator, a daring man who had effected great improvements in the navy by introducing machines of various kinds and using fire for the first time in marine warfare,¹ besides instituting a rigorous training for the crews, caused Polyxenidas to believe that he would be unable to defeat his opponent by legitimate warfare. Livy, writing on this subject, finds another motive for the wish of Polyxenidas to destroy his opponent in the fact that the latter in a public speech had spoken of him in contemptuous and disdainful terms. Therefore he planned a stratagem,² which roused suspicion at first in the mind of Pausistratos, but ultimately succeeded, as the Rhodian admiral was disarmed by an autograph letter which appeared trustworthy for circumstantial reasons.

Polyxenidas promised to deliver the whole of the fleet of Antiochos, or the greater part of it, into the hands of Pausistratos, if he would agree to assist his recall to his native land. Pausistratos doubted the sincerity of this wily man for a long time, but he was thrown off his guard by the letter, which Polyxenidas had himself written in the presence of his messenger and sealed with his own seal. This deception was increased on seeing that Polyxenidas, in accordance with the contents of the letter, had actually sailed away from

¹ Polyb. XXI. 7. App. *Syr.* 5.

² App. *Ibid.*

Ephesos and appeared to have sent his army to procure corn. Pausistratos, observing that movement and more than ever confirmed in his opinion that no man, unless he were in earnest, would place his signature to a letter proposing a betrayal, gave full credit to the proposals, relaxed his vigilance and likewise sent away his own fleet to procure corn. So great was this ill-placed confidence and vain hope of the Rhodian admiral, that even the evidence given by a captured soldier of Antiochos, that this king's fleet was quite prepared for war, could not arouse his suspicion. Polyxenidas, observing the success of his stratagem, at once mustered his ships and crossed to the nearest Asiatic point facing Samos. From thence he sent a piratical individual, Nicander by name, to sail to Palinuros, a promontory of Samos, with five decked ships, under orders to lead his armed men by the nearest road on land to Panormos, a harbour of Samos and anchorage of the fleet of Pausistratos. The object of this manœuvre was to enable Nicander's men to come behind the enemy and thereby to create confusion in his force at the given moment. Then he himself in the middle of the night with seventy ships, divided into two divisions, proceeded to Panormos, and at dawn fell upon his unsuspecting victim, still at rest. Pausistratos was first in the strife that followed, and fell bravely fighting to the last. The remainder of his crews were either captured or perished in the struggle. Seven of his twenty-seven¹ ships, of which two were from Cos, only escaped from the trap set by the enemy, because, as they were provided with the new fire-apparatus (*πυρφόρος*), no one dared to approach them for fear of conflagration. All the rest seized were conveyed to Ephesos by Polyxenidas.

¹ Or twenty-five according to Livy.

Rhodian naval victory at the Eurymedon. The news of this misfortune aroused the greatest sorrow and consternation in Rhodes, because they had lost not only so many valuable ships, but also a great part of the vigorous manhood of their island, including many young men of distinction who had volunteered their services, because, among other reasons, they held Pausistratos in very high esteem. And when they learned that it was a fellow-countryman who had betrayed them, their grief turned to rage, and they thought of nothing but revenge. Therefore they immediately equipped and sent out a squadron of ten ships, and, after a short time, ten more under the sole command of Eudamos, who, though not equal to Pausistratos in warlike enterprise, was a safer and more cautious leader.

These twenty ships, joined by the Roman naval forces at Samos, sailed straight to Ephesos to provoke a battle with Polyxenidas, or, alternatively, to cover him with shame before the peoples of Asia by exposing him as a coward.

The joy of the Syrian king was soon upset by the news that his fleets had suffered a great disaster at sea. To begin with, his Phœnician fleet, upon which so much depended, and which was under the illustrious commander Hannibal, had been signally defeated (189) by a Rhodian naval force under Eudamos,¹ which was inferior both in the number and size of its ships.

This disaster to the king's navy occurred at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, strange to say, in the same waters where long ago another Greek fleet, the Athenian, gained a great victory over a fleet belonging to the same Phœnician race.

¹ Livy, 37, 12. See also Gelder, p. 136, n. 3.

Further naval defeat of Antiochos. Not long afterwards Polyxenidas, having ninety (or eighty-nine) decked ships under his command, was routed near Myonnesos, a promontory between Teos and Samos, in a naval engagement with the Roman admiral Regillus, who had under his command eighty-three ships (eighty according to Livy), of which twenty-five were from Rhodes (or twenty-two according to Livy), under the Rhodian commander Eudamos, stationed on the left wing.

The boldness of the Rhodian strategy, united with the skill of their oarsmen, the dexterity of the pilots, and the swiftness of the vessels, besides their fire-ships, which scattered flames amidst the fleet of Polyxenidas—all contributed to the confusion which ensued. It was then that the Roman ships broke through the middle of the Syrian line and surrounded the enemy's fleet, putting it to flight. Of Antiochos' ships twenty-nine were lost, burned or sunk, and thirteen were captured with their crews. The loss of the Romans was only two vessels, and one of the Rhodians, which had conspicuously furthered the victory, by extraordinary bad luck was captured and brought to Ephesos.

Æmilius Regillus, recognising the leading part that the Rhodian fleet had played in the victory at sea, decorated (according to Livy) the Rhodian vessels with naval spoils, and he also granted them a large proportion of the booty and then sent them home, no doubt for a worthy celebration of their great victory.

These naval triumphs so demoralised the Syrians that they declined to meet their opponents again on the sea, the mastery of which, they acknowledged, had been completely wrested from them. The Roman legions could now be transported to Asia in safety, whenever

desired, and in this they had the full support of the Rhodian fleet.

Decisive battles of Magnesia and peace of Apameia. All these reverses induced the panic-stricken Antiochos for the second time to hasten to negotiate for peace on the basis of the evacuation of Europe and a solid indemnity, and for this purpose he sent as envoy Heracleides, a Byzantian.

But the terms to be imposed by the Romans and their allies were so severe that Antiochos decided to continue the struggle on land with all his might and resources. And so before long (189) the decisive battle of Magnesia near Sipylus was fought, with another total and crushing defeat for Antiochos III., who, ruined in all his hopes and without further prospect of success, fled from the field.

Necessity knows no law. Such was the position created for the Syrian king that he sent Zeuxis and Antipater as envoys with urgent messages inviting any terms of peace.

The terms imposed on Antiochos at the council held at Apameia, near Sardis, under the presidency of the Consul Lucius Scipio, were very onerous and crippling. To obtain their ratification by the Roman Senate and people it was agreed to send envoys to Rome.

The Romans, who were greatly elated by their triumph over Antiochos and boastful about the future, now considered, as Appian writes, that no task was too hard for them, thanks to the favour of the gods and to their own courage. From this overbearing spirit a general expression arose among them, "*There was a King Antiochos the Great.*"

Intercession of Rhodes and Athens for the Ætolians. The Ætolians, who had invited Antiochos III. to Greece

against Rome, having heard of the total collapse of his large forces in Asia, and that the war was to be continued against them by the Romans, were alarmed at the menace and reduced to bewilderment. However, remembering the pan-Hellenic and tolerant spirit of Rhodes and Athens, they decided to approach these powers with a view to obtaining mediation for averting their destruction.

The Rhodians and the Athenians, foreseeing possibilities in the near future from Rome, and fearing the probable extinction of a Greek community, immediately took energetic diplomatic action. They sent ambassadors to the Roman consul, Marcus Fulvius, then besieging Ambrakia, and they arrived at the same time as the Athamanian king, Amynder, who came to obtain relief for the Ambrakiotes. In an interview with the consul the envoys tried by ingenious arguments, as Polybios writes, "to modify his anger."¹

Their efforts met with success, and the terms offered by the Roman Fulvius were accepted by the Ætolians. These terms, however, could only secure peace when ratified by the Roman Senate. Therefore, to make sure of this, the envoys of Rhodes and Athens accompanied those of Ætolia to Rome, and it was only through their intercession that the ratification of the treaty was obtained from Rome in 189 B.C.

Reception of Eumenes and of the ambassadors of Rhodes at Rome. In the summer following the victory, Rome was crowded with envoys from Antiochos, Rhodes, Smyrna and many other states and nations, all of whom had come in hopes of securing the future of their power and possessions.

The Roman Senate gave all a very courteous recep-

¹ XXI. 25-33.

tion, but the most imposing and magnificent was that accorded to Eumenes of Pergamos, who went in person to Rome; and second only to it was that extended to the Rhodian delegates.

*The speech of the Rhodians in the Senate.*¹ In due course the Rhodians took their appointed place and addressed the Senate; and in conformity with the spirit which always distinguished the Rhodian people, they asked, as Polybios and Livy state, that the Greeks in Asia should be set free and should recover that autonomy which is the dearest of possessions to all mankind. They pointed out that the recognition of this principle would resound to the glory of the name of Rome, as the liberation of Greece would be the most glorious of all her achievements, far transcending the glory obtained by them in exacting tribute from the Carthaginians. And justly so, for money is a possession common to all mankind, whereas honour and praise and glory are attributes of the gods and of those men who approach nearest to them.

After that they directed their speech against the thrusts of Eumenes, who had just spoken, and showed very clearly the position of that king. "It is the nature of monarchy to hate equality, and to endeavour to have everybody, or at least as many as possible, subject and obedient.

"To whatever extent," they said, "your army has reached, let that justice spread which emanates from Rome.

"Let barbarians, with whom the commands of masters have always served instead of laws, have monarchs, for in that form of government they delight.

"But the Greeks, ye men of Rome, have a free spirit

¹ Polyb. XXI. 22, 5f. Livy XXXVII. 54.

like your own. Therefore to enslave those free Greek cities in order to retain the friendship of a king, would be to sacrifice your honour and duty and the cause for which the war was undertaken, and in which the Rhodians did not hesitate to join."

What a moving drama we find here ! History repeating itself ! The Rhodian people appealing and fighting for the liberties of Greater Greece before the Senate of old Rome, even as in our own day, more than two thousand years later, their descendants, before another universal tribunal, pleaded for the restoration of those same liberties which they had lost, always with the same object in view, of a free, prosperous and greater Greece !

The consequences. The speech of the Rhodians was generally considered as moderate and fair, and the Senate, deeply impressed by its arguments, which it found consonant with the grandeur of Rome, made a compromise after the ratification of the treaty, in which there were clauses favourable to the Rhodians. That is, it granted to the Rhodians Lycia and Caria up to the Meander, to Eumenes all territories west of Mount Tauros, previously subject to Antiochos, and recognised the independence of all the Greek cities of Asia that had formerly paid tribute to Antiochos, though those which had been accustomed to pay tribute to Attalos were to pay it to his son and successor Eumenes. The Rhodians, being very pleased with the favour accorded to them, thanked the Senate warmly, and said at the same time that it would be an exceptional favour to their country if the inhabitants of Soli in Cilicia could be exempted from subjection to the King Antiochos, because of the fraternal ties between the two states Rhodes and Soli, which originated from Argos.

The Senate took the matter in hand, and as it met with

strong opposition from the ambassadors of Antiochos, it declared that it would do its utmost to overcome the obstinacy of these, if the Rhodians believed that the matter affected the honour of their state. The Rhodians, moved by the goodwill of the Senate, expressed their thanks more cordially than before, but dropped the proposal, saying that they would rather put up with the arrogance of Antipater, the leader of the envoys of Antiochos, than follow a course which might cause a disturbance of the peace. So no alteration occurred with regard to Soli.

Settlement of Asia and of Rhodian claims. For the complete settlement of the details of the peace treaty, ten Roman commissioners were again sent to Asia.

These commissioners, with the proconsul Gnæus Manlius, after listening to all claimants, formulated the treaty of Apameia in 188 B.C. In accordance with its scheme, Lycia and Caria up to the river Meander were given to the Rhodians, as a remuneration for the energetic assistance and goodwill displayed by them in the war with Antiochos. Also the following clauses for their benefit were included in this treaty.

“All houses and buildings within the limits of Antiochos’ kingdom, which belonged before the war to the Rhodians and their allies, must still remain in their possession. Likewise, if any sums of money are due to them, or if any of their property has been taken away, they have the right to enforce payment, or search for the property and reclaim it.”

But the city of Telmissos, which the Rhodians claimed, was given to Eumenes with other specified territories, and a vast indemnity paid to him by Antiochos. All these acquisitions constituted Eumenes the greatest

sovereign of the East, but Rome, too, by enlarging the kingdom of this monarch, was increasing the size of her own heritage.

Discontent with Roman policy. The gift of Telmissos to Eumenes was probably made with the object of keeping a cause for contention between Rhodes and Pergamos, which already existed between them, as the Romans had observed from the speeches of both sides delivered before the Senate.

The Roman policy, as is well known, did not seek to maintain peace even between its friends, but sought, on the contrary, by means of unsettled questions and open wounds, to preserve an active state of friction and threatened war, which would cause them all to look to Rome for powerful mediation and constant advice. At the same time the Roman policy, a selfish one, wished to treat all peoples like automata or marionettes, the guiding strings being in Roman hands.

This policy of "divide et impera" was clearly shown towards the Achæan league, so long the friend of Rome, and generally towards the whole of Greece, and followed the method of raising one party against another, and shattering Hellas by increasing the spirit of division, which unhappily lay at the root of the political troubles of the Greek people and eventually overthrew its power.

It was also evident in the question raised between Lycia and Rhodes on account of the refusal of the Lycians to recognise the sovereignty of the Rhodians over their country in accordance with the arrangement made by the ten commissioners. This refusal caused a war, in which the Lycians were defeated.

After this collapse, the latter appealed to Rome and

laid before the Senate the oppression of Rhodes, warning it of an approaching danger to Rome herself from that quarter.

The Senate, though it could immediately have secured peace, sent envoys to the Rhodians, reproving their conduct and reminding them that the Lycians, according to the arrangement of the ten commissioners, were given to Rhodes not as a *gift* (ἐν δωρεᾷ) but as *friends and allies* (ὡς φίλοι καὶ σύμμαχοι).¹

The announcement of this decree of the Senate, on reaching Rhodes, aroused bitter feelings, because the Rhodians saw that the Roman intervention after the successful conclusion of the Lycian war by them had only made things worse, for the Lycians, encouraged by the attitude of Rome, had already begun a fresh revolt and were bent on fighting to the end. This Roman policy aimed at involving the Rhodians in a long guerilla warfare, with the consequent squandering of their wealth, and at thus keeping the Greeks at loggerheads.

Symptoms of alienation from Rome. This, being the first blow struck at Rhodes by Rome, taught the islanders that their whole position needed reconsideration. The immediate result of this was the development of a strong anti-Roman party in Rhodes and the adoption of a more independent policy.

A symptom of this change is to be seen in the part the Rhodian fleet took in escorting Laodice (172 B.C.), sister of the Syrian King Antiochos, called Epiphanes (the illustrious), and bride of Perseus, the new king of Macedon, across the seas to her destination. Furthermore, a great Rhodian naval review was held, demonstrating to the world the power of Rhodes at sea, and a possible danger to Rome herself, arising from

this naval power, if united in alliance with other strong states, such as Macedon, Syria, or Egypt.

But the man who intensified the estrangement of Rhodes from Rome was Eumenes. He thought that the league of "the free cities along the coast of Asia Minor," under the leadership of Rhodes, and the commercial and naval ascendancy of this island on that coast, were opposed to his interests. This king was also animated by revengeful feelings, because the Rhodians, during his war with Pharnakes, king of Pontos, thwarted with a squadron his blockade of the Hellespont, considering it injurious to commerce and the freedom of the seas.

Nevertheless, the Rhodians, although doubting the sincerity of Rome, tried to believe that the Romans had been misinformed by the Lycians, and they therefore again sent envoys to Rome with a view to giving an explanation to the Senate. After hearing their address the Senate postponed its answer.

The third Macedonian war. But now (173 B.C.) the third Macedonian war threatened to break out, and this threw Rhodes into the utmost perplexity. Its heart, like that of almost all other Greek states, was with Perseus, a man of the same race, and it desired his victory, but the cooler minds of Rhodes—or, as Livy calls them, "the best judging party"—after much reflection, not uninfluenced by the prytanis Agesilochos, came to the conclusion that the interests and security of Rhodes required a continuance of its friendship with Rome, and a readiness to help in case of need. In this case, as in the war against Antiochos, the Coan policy, and probably, too, that of the other islands, was in harmony with that of Rhodes, for though there were many Coans¹ who had strongly advocated the

¹ Polyb. XXX. 7.

support of Perseus, they failed to move the majority in their favour. The most conspicuous leaders of these Coans were the two brothers Hippocritos and Diomedon, whilst in Rhodes were Deinon and Polyaratos. Thus forty ships were prepared by the Rhodians, and were shown to the delegates who came to the island to renew the friendship of Rome with the highly esteemed Rhodes. All they saw gave them much joy, and they left Rhodes in a state of great satisfaction. This is the description as given to us by Polybios, but Livy, writing about the same events, states that "the Roman envoys when they returned to Rome reported that the Rhodians seemed to be wavering, infected by the counsels of Perseus." Therefore soon afterwards when the king of Macedon sent ambassadors in haste to Rhodes, imploring the islanders to remain neutral in the impending war and to follow their precedent in regard to freedom, of which they were the guardians, not only for themselves but also for the rest of Greece, although they were sympathetically heard and the Rhodian populace supported their wishes, no change was effected in the pro-Roman policy of the island. The upper classes had again prevailed to such a degree that, in the formal answer of Rhodes, Perseus was requested not to ask the Rhodians to enter on a course of policy which would appear hostile to Rome.

On the outbreak of the war (171 B.C.) the Rhodians, at the request of the Roman admiral, supplied six ships.¹ Of these, five were sent to Chalkis under the command of Timagoras, and one to Tenedos under the command of another Timagoras.² The five soon returned home because the prætor Caius Lucretius, who

¹ Polyb. XXVII. 7.

² Or Timanoras, or Nicagoras, according to new and various conjectures.

had invited the Rhodians, now thought that the naval assistance of the allies was not necessary to the Romans. The ship that went to Tenedos also came back, bringing as captive Diophanes, who had been dispatched by Perseus to Antiochos, and the crew of the ship which had been sent to take him there. All these were released by the Rhodians later (171–170 B.C.), after negotiations with Perseus.

Rhodian missions. Hostilities continued without any decisive result, although inclining somewhat in favour of Macedon; and the partisan feeling at Rhodes, as well as in Cos, became very violent. But it was determined, after a message from the Senate, which had been considered throughout Greece, including Rhodes, as favourable to the people, to send envoys (170 B.C.) to Rome, and another mission to Q. Marcius Philippus, the consul encamped near Heracleium in Macedonia, and to C. Marcius Figulus, the commander of the Roman fleet.

The objects of the mission of the envoys sent to Rome under Agesilochos were the renewal of the friendship of Rhodes with Rome, the obtaining of a licence to import corn from the Roman dominions, and the defence of their state against some accusations brought against it. The Senate, not finding it opportune to take any practical action in regard to Rhodes, affected to ignore the party strife there and granted to the Rhodians the right to obtain one hundred thousand medimni of corn from Sicily. Thus the result of the mission to some degree was successful.

The envoys who were sent to the consul and to the commander of the fleet had instructions to refute the same imputations and to renew the friendship of the Cretans with Rome. At first (169 B.C.) they delivered

their message to the consul, whose politic answer and friendly attitude charmed them, and particularly one of their number, Agepolis. The consul drew the latter aside and said to him privately that he wondered at the Rhodians not trying to put an end to the war, which it would be eminently in their interests to do.

Polybios considers that the consul was referring to the war waged between Antiochos and Ptolemy; whereas Appian, on the contrary, regarded it as the war between the Romans and Perseus, which view we are disposed to accept.

More cordial still was the reception given to the mission by the Admiral C. M. Figulus.

But this accommodating spirit on the part of the Roman commanders was interpreted by the Rhodian populace as the outcome of Roman anxiety due to the protracted and indecisive nature of the war. They were still more confirmed in this view when they heard of the consul's private conversation with Agepolis and also the same consul's message through the same person to the Cretan Council, which was asked to put an end to the war then existing between Antiochos Epiphanes and Ptolemy VII., Evergetes II., nicknamed Physcon.

Rhodian mediation. In this state of mind the Rhodians, in accordance with their habit of acting as mediators in wars waged in the Hellenistic world, at first undertook to negotiate a peace between these kings, but their efforts had negative results. Their next steps were to attempt to bring about an immediate peace between Rome and Macedon. The necessity which impelled the Rhodians to follow this policy energetically was twofold : firstly, the party supporting Perseus was now (169) ascendant in Rhodes and wished to do all it could to save him from destruction ; secondly,

the Rhodian commerce had suffered terribly during the war, and, owing to the increase of piracy during the struggle, its ruin was imminent.

Thereupon the Prytaneis, being, as stated earlier, the executive power at Rhodes, appointed two delegations for negotiating the end of this war. The one, composed of three members, was sent to Rome; the other, of four, to Perseus and the consul. The Rhodians, in order to strengthen their position, also sent ambassadors to Crete, to renew their friendship with the whole people of that island, pointing out to it the danger that threatened all Hellenic peoples and the necessity of their uniting their lot with that of Rhodes and all other free Greek cities.

Roman indignation. But this attempted mediation roused the Romans to indignation, an indignation fed by the plutocracy at Rome, which desired a conflict of their city with Rhodes, as they hoped thereby to ruin its commerce and grasp the wealth of the East in their own hands. Therefore, it was then considered, and is still considered, that even the conversation of consul Marcius, inviting the Rhodians to mediate between Rome and Macedon, was a trap for the ruin of the islanders, made to gratify the moneyed class of Rome. Consequently, the opinion expressed by Appian that this consul did it, like many other things, of his own initiative and from cowardice is untrustworthy.

Unfortunately for Rhodes, the moment chosen for mediation was ill suited to the plans and prospects of the Roman generals, and it was also unsupported by any exhibition of military force such as might have made an impression.

If this intervention had occurred when Perseus so urgently appealed to Rhodes, and if the latter, which

at that time possessed naval supremacy, had shown that it was willing to support him strongly, something serious might have developed from this step. The Romans, for instance, would have hesitated to commence war, for they would have been deprived of all hope of success, both on land and sea, and the Rhodians themselves would not have been reduced to an absurd position.

Hence the answer given to the Rhodian envoys by the consul Æmilius Paulus, the new Roman commander-in-chief in the war against Perseus, was evasive, and he postponed the definite answer for fifteen days, probably because he expected by that time to know the result of the battle which he was preparing to fight near Pydna. The deputation, too, that was sent to Rome was coolly received, and its advent was looked upon as an impertinence. Therefore the Senate, which appears to have been influenced by the opulent party in Rome, daily postponed the interview with the Rhodian envoys, and only decided to receive them just after the news of the Roman victory at Pydna (168 B.C.) had reached the capital. Through this victory, the omen revealed to Æmilius Paulus in the words of his little daughter, Tertia, that Perseus, a pet dog of the family,¹ was dead, found its confirmation, though it is not unlikely that the appalling avariciousness of Perseus, and possibly also his cowardice, were the most powerful contributors to this event.

Tension between Rome and Rhodes. The above-mentioned decision of the Senate caused the Rhodian envoy Agessipolis and his colleagues, on entering the Senate, to speak against their initial purpose and to congratulate the Romans. But let us hear Polybios, in whom alone

¹ Plutarch's *Æm. Paul.* X., XII., XIII., XVII.

we have confidence here, as Livy seems much influenced by the Roman annalists and by his strong Latin leanings, which lead him to misstatements and to the adoption of another version. "They had come to arrange an end to the war," writes Polybios, "for the people of Rhodes, seeing that the war had been protracted a considerable length of time, and realizing that it was disadvantageous to all the Greeks as well as to the Romans themselves, on account of its enormous expenses, had come to that conclusion. But as the war was already ended, and the wish of the Rhodians was thus fulfilled, they had only to congratulate the Romans."

The reply of the Senate was implacable and forgetful of the past great services of Rhodes. The Senate, being intoxicated by the defeat of Macedon, was overpowered by the instinctive dynamic sense of imperialism, and thinking that the world was now at the feet of Rome, and animated by the anti-Greek spirit then prevailing there, haughtily tore the mask from its face and openly declared, to the great joy of the plutocrats of Rome, that Rhodes need expect no indulgence at the hands of the Romans.

Of course the great fault of Rhodes in the eyes of the Senate at that time, and that which moved it to wish for the punishment of the Dodecanesians, was the attitude of independence which they had adopted throughout, and their sympathy towards Macedon, which they had ill concealed.

It is certainly easy to be wise after the event, but if diplomacy had followed the natural instinct of the Rhodian populace which told them that "blood is thicker than water," instead of the cold and careful calculations of the island aristocracy, a Greek coalition could have been easily formed, which might have

thwarted the schemes and advances of the Romans. Again, if Rhodes had relied on her sea power only, she yet would have been a thorn in the side of Rome, or, if allied with Perseus from the beginning of the war, she would either have paralysed the movements of the Romans and then have secured the victory of Macedon or would have terminated the war in its early stages. Thus Rhodes would not have been brought to such straits, or, as we have just shown, to such an absurd position.

Attempts to appease the anger of Rome. The wrathful and threatening answer of the Senate, which reached Rhodes before the return of the envoys, sounded to the citizens of the island like a clap of thunder.

Accordingly, to moderate the Roman anger, the Rhodians immediately dispatched to Rome two other embassies, which contained their most experienced statesman. The one was headed by Philocrates, and the second by Philophron and Astymedes, a great orator. On their arrival (167 B.C.) they perceived the hostile and suspicious spirit that Rome harboured towards their country, and this greatly discouraged and depressed them. But their situation became more precarious when they saw that a war against Rhodes was possible, owing to the excitement of the Roman mob caused by the prætor Marcus Juventius Thalna, as also to the greed and lust of pillage prevalent in the atmosphere at that time, a fact which did not escape the attention of the Roman writer Aulus Gellius, who wrote: "If the most noble cast their threatening glances towards that island, their hostility had no other object than that of pillage."¹ But the Rhodian envoys were extricated from this impasse by the plebeian tribune

¹ Cf. Sallust, *Bell. Catil.* 51, 5.

M. Antony, who introduced them to the people and pulled down from the rostra the prætor who persisted in recommending war, thereby giving the Rhodians an opportunity of speaking before the general assembly.¹

But they were not yet relieved in mind. They still had apprehensions as regards the hostile feelings of the Senate, and they therefore demanded to be heard by it. This wish was at length acceded to, and they were eventually presented to that assembly by Antony. Philophron was the first to speak. Astymedes, following, delivered a mournful speech which was not liked by the Greeks, and is severely criticised by Polybios.²

The final result was that the threat of immediate war was laid aside, but the attitude of the Senate in other respects was unaltered. It censured the Rhodians severely for their conduct. This discarding of the war menace is recorded by Livy³ as the result of an eloquent speech made in the Senate by the illustrious M. Porcius Cato, who deprecated a warlike policy, recognising that the Rhodians were quite guiltless in their conduct towards Rome, for they had not assisted Perseus, and there was, therefore, no reason for Rome to overwhelm the Rhodians with reproach and threats.

After this answer, Philocrates and his colleagues left Rome and reported the Senate's reply to their countrymen, who on the whole thought it good news, for at least war had been spared them. So again the truth was shown "that the dread of worse makes men forget lighter misfortunes."

Efforts towards an alliance with Rome. Rhodes responded by sending a costly gold crown to Rome

¹ Polyb. XXX. 4. Livy, XLV. 20 f.

³ *Ibid.*, 25. See also A. Gell. VI. 3.

² *Ibid.*

and charged the old Theaidetos, a Romanophile, accompanied by an embassy under Rhodophron, with the duty of presenting the gift. The power he wielded was extraordinary. He was not only an envoy but also at the same time a navarch, a dignity which conferred on him the plenipotentary authority to conclude treaties at will with other states. And in this capacity he was directed to attempt in every possible way to make an *alliance* with the Romans, which was a step unprecedented in the records of Rhodian history, but on this occasion the motive of the islanders was to remove every suspicion harboured by the Romans towards their country.

Again the Roman attitude was disappointing, for a short time after the return of the ambassadors who went with Theaidetos to Rome, it was announced to the Rhodians that the Senate had published a decree according to which all Carians and Lycians, who had been assigned to the Rhodians after the treaty of Antiochos, were now declared free. Also, the island of Delos was declared a free port; this was done at the request of the plutocrats at Rome, acting in collaboration with the Roman capitalists at Delos, who were there in large numbers and wished to concentrate the commerce of the East in their hands. All these were severe punitive measures, taken with the object of injuring the revenues of Rhodes and drawing away the Eastern commerce from the island. It was hoped thereby to make commerce follow in the wake of the Roman conquest, or, as we should say to-day, to make trade follow the flag. The result was soon felt, because within three years the Rhodian customs revenue sank from a million (£40,000) to a hundred and fifty thousand drachmæ (£6,000). Thus the gift of the Rhodians had

proved useless, and their hopes of an alliance seemed not likely to materialise.

We may assume that this announcement was sent to Rhodes by Theaidetos,¹ who remained in Rome to further the purpose of his mission, or by the embassy under Astymedes, the son of the above,² which likewise remained in Rome in order to keep itself well informed as regards Roman policy and feelings towards Rhodes and to communicate all news to their fellow-countrymen.

Theaidetos, continuing his efforts, was ultimately admitted into the Senate, where he spoke on the subject of the alliance. His application, however, was listened to coldly, and it was decided to postpone the discussion of the proposal. The navarch, being more than eighty years old, died at Rome at this time (166), and he was thus spared the bitter scenes that followed.

The Rhodians were ordered by a decree of the Senate to evacuate Caunos (a city in Peraia bought by them from Ptolemy's officers) and Stratonikeia, which lay in Caria and was probably given to them as a gift by Antiochos I., Soter, the son of Seleucos.³

This and the generally hostile feelings of the Romans caused the deputation under Astymedes to sail at all speed to Rhodes in order to advise their compatriots that they should obey Rome to avoid worse issues. Likewise Peraia, seated on the southern coast of Caria, opposite Rhodes, and often called Rhodian Peraia, was by another decree liberated from Rhodian control, to the great joy of its inhabitants.

The Rhodians, on receiving this news, felt that the Roman anger was not yet past, and they sent one more embassy to Rome under Aristotle, with strong recom-

¹ Kinch, *IV. Rapport*, p. 44.

³ Polyb. XXX. 31.

² *Ibid.*

mendations to secure the much-desired alliance. But this petition, too, was rejected by the Senate.

Conclusion of the alliance. The repeated failures of the islanders in their attempts to obtain the alliance and friendship of Rome, the loss of their dominions on the mainland, and the consequent reduction of the revenues besides the decline in the harbour dues, owing to the making of Delos a free port, did not discourage the Rhodians; on the contrary, all these reverses spurred them on to further energetic endeavours to gain the alliance.

It seemed to them that by this alliance they would be more likely to calm the wrath of Rome and revive the old good feelings between Rome and Rhodes, thereby raising their prestige in the world's eyes. To this end another embassy, again under the versatile and crafty Astymedes (165), was sent to Rome. When called before the Senate, Astymedes employed a more opportune and more advantageous argument in his speech than on his previous embassy. He showed the damage done to the islanders' commerce and revenue by the Roman injunctions, the restrictions laid on their freedom, both as regards debate and political independence, for which they were always ready to sacrifice their lives and their wealth, and further reminded the Romans that, in asking for alliance, the Rhodians were worthy of it on account of their long and warm friendship towards Rome.

This speech,¹ and the strong support given by Tiberius Gracchus, who had just returned from a mission to Asia and had testified that the Rhodians had carried out all the decrees of the Senate and had even put to death, by the advice of the Senator Caius Decimius, the

¹ Polyb. XXX. 31.

avowed partisans of Perseus, removed all opposition and established the alliance ¹ between Rome and Rhodes (164 B.C.).

The Rhodians were thus accounted amongst the *socii atque amici imperii Romani*, i. e. they were recognised allies and friends of the Roman Empire, but in reality through this alliance they had been reduced to a somewhat subordinate position to Rome. Hence some historians even go so far as to say that Rhodes had now ceased to exist politically as an independent state.

Judging from the later history of Rhodes, this must be an error, because we see that the island retained its own government as a free state, that it voluntarily aided the Romans and Greeks in various circumstances, and that, maintaining its alliance with Rome, it followed a pro-Roman policy more obviously and openly than before, but one which was often beneficial to the Roman Empire as also to many Greek states.

The arrangements concluded by the alliance were welcomed by the Rhodians, because they put an end to their anxiety and gave time for them to recover somewhat from their injuries; it also caused the Senate to recognise the validity of the claims to the properties which Rhodian citizens had in Lycia and Caria. In addition, it allowed the Rhodians to occupy the city of Calynda in Caria, which they had relieved when invested by the Caunians.

The Rhodians in gratitude for these acts of friendship raised a colossal statue of the Roman people on the acropolis of Lindos (163 B.C.), in the temple of Athena.²

The recovery and continued prosperity of Rhodes brought back much of her previous prestige. Presents

¹ Polyb. XXX. 31.

² *Ibid.* XXXI. 75.

frequently arrived in the island from other states, as, for instance, those received from Eumenes. Embassies were sent to Rhodes from several cities, appealing for help, as for example from Priene ¹ (155 B.C.), for protection against Ariarathes of Cappadocia and his ally Attalos II., and generally speaking the island was again a centre of civilisation, and its capital one of the richest, most attractive and charming capitals of the world.

War with Crete. Rhodes also, following her traditional principle of free navigation, united with other cities for the purpose of suppressing piracy, which was doing great damage to trade. An inexcusable attack of the Cretans on the defenceless island of Siphnos drew Rhodes into a war with Crete, with whom they were formerly good friends, but the war was undecided, and both sides applied to the Achæans for help. The Achæans were more inclined to assist the Rhodians, out of respect for the reputation of their state, but eventually they remained neutral. This caused the Rhodians to send the noted Astymedes with plenipotentiary power—*i. e.* as envoy and navarch—to crave help from Rome for ending the war.

Polybios merely states that the Romans intervened and sent a commission under Quintus to put an end to the war (154 B.C.). Beyond this he is silent, as the sequence is here broken, but from an inscription found at Nisyros we can trace the real facts relating to the struggle.

Astymedes was greatly honoured by the Nisyrians and the Rhodians for the success of his negotiations, which, it appears, induced Rome to take active steps against Crete for the suppression of the ruinous piracy.

¹ Polyb. XXXIII. 6. Hicks, *Inscr. British Mus.* III. 424 b.

CHAPTER VI

GRÆCO-ROMAN PERIOD, 130 B.C.—A.D. 400

Piracy rampant and alliance of Rome with Astypalaia.
After the capture and sack of Corinth (146 B.C.) nearly all Greece was converted into a Roman province under the name of "Achaia," and in the same year the fierce spirit of Cato rejoiced in the dark-walled home of Persephone on account of the tidings of the complete destruction of Carthage, which had throughout his life been his aim and object. His famous war-cry "De-lenda est Carthago" was at last fulfilled.

Polybios, who witnessed both those great historical events, gives much information incidental to them.

What thoughtful man does not recall the words uttered by Scipio Æmilianus to Polybios, his tutor, after he had given the order to burn the city of Carthage? "Polybios," he said, "it is a grand thing, but I do not know why I feel a terror and dread, lest some one may some day give the same order against my own native city." Are we to detect in these words a prophetic anticipation of the deeds of Nero and Guiscard?

Thus Rome now dominated the whole of the known world, and no one was able to dispute her supremacy. All who tried failed utterly. But with this great extension of the Roman power, the democratic spirit was replaced everywhere by the plutocratic, and the rich sought to increase their individual wealth regardless of the interest of the community, as is well revealed in the uprising of the Gracchi. The com-

mercial and financial dominion of the Romans was enormously strengthened, for there was no branch of trade and industry which was not taken over by them for profit. Delos became a great emporium and centre of commerce and shipping; the western waters up to the Pillars of Hercules came into the sphere of this great intercourse, but, unfortunately, it was accompanied by wholesale piracy and a great traffic in slaves obtained from among the conquered peoples. This piracy at length assumed such dimensions that it defied the power and authority of Rome herself, and commerce was largely paralysed thereby. It seemed a disgrace for that great world-power to be unable to cope with it, the more so when she saw that Rhodes was continually at strife with the sea-robbers and had even called, as we have seen, for her assistance.

With their prestige at stake, the Romans decided to take all precautions for meeting the emergency effectively and to stamp out this piratical plague afflicting the Mediterranean. War and destruction directed against the nests of the pirate bands were the consequence.

It seems that this determination of Rome made her contract (about 105 B.C.)¹ an alliance (*συμμαχία*) with the small island of Dodecanese Astypalaia and confer upon it the dignity of a "civitas foederata."² This island gave birth to the notorious Phalaris, tyrant of Acragas. As all readers will remember, the famous tyrants Gelon and Hieron of Syracuse, came from Telos, another small island of this Ægean group.

Though Astypalaia is only a small island, it is an excellent base for operations in the Ægean Sea, because its harbour is admirable, and its position was generally

¹ *Inscr. Gr. Ins.* p. 30.

² *Ibid.* p. 37 f. n., 173.

suitable for receiving and sheltering ships and consequently for offering security to the Roman squadrons.

The clauses of this treaty drawn up on behalf of Rome and Astypalaia are worthy of note because they put a vast empire in the same scale with a very tiny island. The spectacle is striking. Freeman,¹ knowing the tendency of the Roman policy, and referring to the inscriptions describing the treaty of this alliance, said that Astypalaia sank gently from independence to dependence and from dependence to subjection.

Mithridates and the Dodecanese. The Rhodians, always faithful to their alliance, as we have stated before, supported the Romans with arms or benevolent neutrality in their days of varied fortune, but the culmination of their effective help was evident in the Roman war with the great Mithridates (88 B.C.) surnamed Eupator, the increase of whose territories extended with such astonishing rapidity.²

The heart of Rhodes was with the main stream of Hellenic feeling, for nearly all Greeks were on the side of this king, either by natural inclination or induced thereto by the royal proclamation of liberty, if not encouraged by the violent civil wars in Italy, during which province after province had seceded from Rome.

But she did not follow that feeling, nor did she show sympathy or gratitude to the king who lavished benefits on her. She remained loyal to Rome, as she did not believe in the ultimate success of the Pontic king, and did not wish to risk her fate by open enmity with the eternal city.

The same policy was adopted by the other Dode-

¹ *The Methods of Hist. Study*, p. 256 f.

² Appian's *The Mithrid. Wars*, 22-27. Theod. Reinach, *Mithrid.* p. 147.

canesians who may or may not have been at this time under the direct or indirect control of Rhodes.

We know, for instance, that while the inhabitants of Carpathos, Chalki and Telos had for many centuries the rights of Rhodian citizenship, the Nisyrians had acquired them from the beginning of the second century, though we also know from the inscriptions that the people of Symi were under Rhodian rule and governed by the same general (στραταγός or ἀγεμών) who was sent by Rhodes to govern in Peraia. Thus we read “ἀγεμών ἐπὶ Ἀπείρου καὶ Φύσκου¹ καὶ Χερσονάσου καὶ Σύμας,”² and “στραταγοῦ ἐπὶ Χερσονάσου καὶ Σύμας.”

The inscriptions likewise show that the navy of the islands in union with Rhodes was under the command of the Rhodian archon (ἄρχων), whose full title appears to have been “ἄρχων ἐπὶ τε τῶν νήσων καὶ τῶν πλοίων τῶν νησιωτικῶν.”

*Massacre of Italians in Asia.*³ Thus the Dodecanesians threw open their gates to the Italians, who escaped from the horrible massacres of Asia in which so many thousands of them, men, women and children, their freedmen and slaves, had been sacrificed and their treasures seized by the secret order of the king. This order, which legally enabled the Asiatics to put into frightful action their hatred of the Romans, a hatred caused by the latter's harsh and brutal administration of the province of Asia, reminds one of the Sicilian Vespers of a later century and the deeds of Abdul Hamid and Young Turks during our days.

Of the Dodecanesian islands, Cos, Calymnos and Rhodes are the three pointed out to us by ancient writers as having offered asylum to refugees flying from the

¹ To-day, Marmara.

² *Bullet. de Corresp. Hellén.* XVIII. 1894, p. 395.

³ Appian's *Mithrid. Wars*, 22 and 23.

scene of slaughter. But all these unfortunate human beings—amongst whom was even the proconsul of Asia, L. Cassius—sought more permanent security by flocking to Rhodes, whose power to protect them was obvious and well known, and where their reception was cordial.

And they were not deceived. The fidelity of the Rhodians, their friendship with Rome, and their chivalrous conduct greatly surprised and impressed Mithridates. He, knowing how much Rhodes had suffered at the hands of the Romans, and its debt of gratitude to himself, thought that it should have been friendly with him, like most Greek states, and not have made itself the rallying-place of the Italian refugees, thus throwing in its lot with Rome.

On account of this unexpected attitude of the Rhodians, the king was irritated to such a degree that he in person undertook the direction of the war against the city of Rhodes.

*Mithridates at Cos.*¹ But before attacking Rhodes, Mithridates went over to Cos, which, unable to offer a resistance, welcomed him, and surrendered to him the son of Alexander, the reigning sovereign of Egypt, who had been left there by his grandmother Cleopatra, together with a considerable sum of money and other treasures. Mithridates took this young prince under his patronage and brought him up, as Appian tells us, in a regal way, though it would appear that his education was not successful, if we judge from the general consequences following in his life and tragic end on the nineteenth day of his reign.²

The king also appropriated the treasures and money

¹ Appian's *Mithrid. Wars*, 23, 5 f. Theod. Reinach, *Mithrid.* p. 131.

² Appian's *Civil Wars*, I. 102.

belonging to Alexander and sent much of it to Pontos, while confiscating the wealth deposited by Jewish bankers at this island.

*Siege of Rhodes by Mithridates.*¹ While these events were proceeding, the Rhodians prepared to withstand Mithridates, whom they knew to be coming against them with numerous forces. They strengthened the walls and the harbours of their city, erected engines of war on all sides, recruited men from Telmissos and Lycia, and destroyed the suburbs with a view to preventing the approaching enemy from utilising them. Then they sent forth their ships to attack the enemy and stop his advance on Rhodes. Mithridates, who was on board of a quinquereme, gave orders to his ships to spread outwards and to quicken their speed in order to get round the wings of the Rhodian fleet, and thus surround it, for the Rhodian ships were less numerous. The islanders, seeing the danger, frustrated the manœuvre and retired into the harbours; they then closed the gates, and fought Mithridates from the walls.

The king approached the city and, like Demetrios Poliorketes, encamped close to it and began to try to force an entrance into the harbour.

This attempt having failed, he awaited the arrival of his infantry from Asia. In the meantime, continual skirmishing was in progress round the walls between the defenders and the assailants.

As the Rhodians had the best of it in their small conflicts, they gradually took courage and prepared their ships for an opportunity to attack the enemy.

This opportunity arose when one of the king's merchantmen was near Rhodes and was attacked by one of the Rhodian two-banked ships. A duel began and,

¹ Appian's *Mithrid. Wars*, 24-27.

both sides being heavily reinforced, in a short time a great naval engagement took place.

Notwithstanding the fury and the numbers of Mithridates' ships and sailors, Rhodian skill was very successful, as one of the royal triremes was captured with its crew, and towed into the harbour, besides a large number of figure-heads and a quantity of booty.

On another occasion, after some manœuvring in the dark, the Rhodian admiral Damagoras, the son of Euphranor, and a man of the largest experience as a sea-fighter, fell upon twenty-five ships of the king. The result of this naval battle was a success for the Rhodians. Mithridates was personally in command at this battle and was nearly sunk accidentally by a friendly Chian ship, which caused him to hate all Chians bitterly in the future.

About the same time, the defenders' courage and skill in manœuvring at sea enabled them to meet with victorious results the storm-driven navy of Mithridates, whose transports were filled with troops for his expected landing.

The consequence of these continued misfortunes was that Mithridates prepared for further naval action and a siege of the city. In this again he imitated Demetrios Poliorketes, as also in the construction of new huge engines of war such as the sambuca¹ which, mounted on two ships, was a kind of bridge enabling the besiegers, either from their own ships or from their towers, to assault the enemy's walls at close quarters.

His hopes of success were raised when some deserters informed him that there was a weak spot in the defences, near where the temple of Isis stood, at the foot of the

¹ The shape and the name of this machine are fully described by Polybios, VIII. 4, 3, in the case of Syracuse.

hill. He decided to attack this part of the wall by night, with great uproar from his army, after a signal had been given from the mount of Atabyros, in the form of a flame; and at the same time his navy would try to capture the harbour from the sea.

The Rhodian sentries detected the scheme and nipped it in the bud. Nevertheless the king carried out the assault on the next day.

His storming parties, bearing scaling ladders, approached the walls with loud shouts, and his naval brigade advanced against the harbour, likewise rendering the air hideous with their battle-cries, and pouring volleys of arrows and darts on the defenders.

But the Rhodians met the onslaught undismayed, and even the threat of the sambuca with all its terrors did not succeed in intimidating them. The firmness of the Rhodians rendered the attack futile, for the assailing army was repulsed, and the collapse of the sambuca, which broke down of its own weight in a mass of flames, entailed the retirement of the naval forces. This incendiarism was an act of Isis, who hurled the fires on the machine out of vengeance for the sacrilege of placing it against her temple. Thus Rhodian eyes saw this amazing event. This complete success of the Rhodians, reminding us of the exploits of their ancestors, entirely frustrated the designs of the king, and compelled him in his despair to raise the siege of Rhodes and withdraw from the island, as his predecessor, Demetrios, had been compelled to do.

Mithridatic wars. The Rhodians did not confine themselves to the mere repelling of Mithridates, but offered all their services to support the Romans against the king. Thus they helped L. Lucullus¹ in his

¹ Plutarch's *Lucul.* 2, 3.

various actions at sea during the years 87 and 85 B.C., by providing him with Rhodian ships and their best admiral, Damagoras. This Lucullus, who was destined to become so famous in history for his exploits, and proverbial for the sumptuous style in which he habitually fared, was at this time the quæstor of L. Sulla, the general of the first Mithridatic war.

The Rhodians likewise by their example encouraged the Coans to join in the reaction against Mithridates (85 B.C.) and expel the royal garrison, and to place their ships at the disposal of Lucullus, as the Rhodians themselves had already done.

This good turn done by the islanders at the crisis of the struggle was not forgotten at Rome during subsequent wars, and as a result it is reported that Cos was declared by the Roman senate to be "libera et immunis" (free and immune), while the Rhodians were rewarded by Sulla himself at the peace of Dardanos (84 B.C.) for their active fidelity.¹ Their alliance with Rome was revived, and most of the lands which Rome had taken from them at the moment of her anger were returned. Thus Peraia without Stratonikeia, and Caria were restored to them. As to Lycia, we are not sufficiently informed of its fate. The Rhodians afforded the Romans even greater assistance at sea in the third and last Mithridatic war (74-62), which, as we know, was waged at first by Lucullus, and subsequently by his successor the great Pompey (66 B.C.). The best proof of this is that of the forty-three ships which took part in the siege of Heracleia, nearly half were Rhodian.

Suppression of piracy by Pompey. The Dodecanesians also promptly gave their naval support to Gn. Pompey in 67 B.C., when, being commissioned by Rome with

¹ Appian's *Mithrid. War*, p. 61.

wide powers to act, he completely put down piracy, which had grown dangerous. This task he accomplished within forty days, thus relieving the overstrained populations, at the same time giving the necessary tranquillity and security to commerce.

The civil wars of Rome. Owing to her fame in art, in literature, and in rhetoric, as well as to her great traditions in commerce and luxury, Rhodes drew to her shores a great number of foreigners, who revelled in the elegance of her culture and the magnificence of her climate. Amongst these, during this period, were many leading statesmen and young noblemen of Rome, such as Mark Antony, Julius Cæsar, Cicero, Cassius, Brutus and others. Therefore, when the civil wars raged in Rome most of the leaders were personally known to the Rhodians, and it is probable that their wish would have been to be neutral in these struggles. But the popularity of Pompey in Rhodes, coupled with the general sentiment of all Greece at the time, and of almost all the other nations in the Levant, induced the Rhodians to support his cause with warships. After his defeat at Pharsalos, Pompey, trusting in their fidelity, escaped from Mytilene on Rhodian ships. Rhodes received him, but closed her harbours against his followers.

Julius Cæsar soon afterwards came to the island, renewed the alliance between Rome and Rhodes, as Pompey had done before him, then took the fleet of Rhodes with its admiral, Euphranor, into his possession and used it in support of his military operations in Egypt (48-47 B.C.).

The Rhodian fleet rendered great services, but at the cost of its admiral, who fell in the battle of Canopus.

After the assassination of Cæsar, Rhodes again attempted to avoid complications in the new situation,

but Cassius, who had been brought up and educated in Greek literature at Rhodes, asked in 43 B.C. for some ships from the Rhodians. This request they refused, saying that they would help neither Cassius nor Brutus in civil war, because it would be a breach of their neutrality. This answer made Cassius declare that they were friends of Dolabella, the partisan of Antony and Octavian, to whom they had supplied ships. To this accusation the Rhodians replied that if they had supplied some ships, it was on the understanding that they were to be used merely as an escort and that they had no knowledge that the ships would be used by Dolabella for war purposes.

Arrival of Cassius at Myndos. Preparations and envoys to Cassius. A year later (42 B.C.), Cassius, on an understanding with Brutus, undertook to reduce Rhodes, while Brutus attacked the Lycians; they thought that it was in their interest to do so, as the Rhodians and the Lycians possessed fleets with which they could attack the Republicans in the rear when the latter should be engaged with the fleets of Octavian and Antony, the friends of Rhodes and Lycia.

Cassius, knowing well that the Rhodians with whom he had to contend were bold and experienced seamen, prepared his own ships very carefully and drilled his crews at Myndos to perfection.

These preparations caused anxiety in Rhodes. The cultured classes understood the gravity of a war with the Romans, but the masses were elated, recalling Rhodian victories in the past. Nevertheless it was decided to launch thirty-three of their best ships, whilst at the same time a message was sent to Cassius, which amounted almost to an ultimatum. In this they asked him not to under-estimate Rhodes, which had

always defended herself successfully, and not to disregard the treaty of alliance which bound both Romans and Rhodians to refrain from taking up arms against each other. Furthermore, they added that if he complained because they had not offered him military assistance, they were willing to do so, if they were invited by the Roman Senate.

The answer of Cassius was a direct demand that they should either quickly obey his command or expect to be punished for siding with his enemies. The leading people in Rhodes were alarmed at these words of Cassius, but the common people still vociferously shouted for resistance, being incited thereto by two demagogues named Alexander and Mnaseas, who reminded them of the successes of their forefathers against Demetrios and Mithridates.

The enthusiasm raised by these orators was so great, that the Rhodians elected Mnaseas as admiral and Alexander as president of the Prytaneis with supreme power,—so at least we surmise, reading Appian's text in the light of the Rhodian constitution.

At the same time, another effort was made to induce Cassius to alter his uncompromising attitude towards Rhodes by sending to him as an ambassador Archelaos, his former teacher in Greek literature.

At this stage in our history we cannot do better than read the eloquent speech of Archelaos as given us by Appian.¹ To a country like England, where the teacher is so much respected and the classics are so widely and successfully taught, the thrilling words in defence of liberty uttered by the ancient Rhodian teacher to the proud and inflexible Roman, should appeal with a peculiar force and should prompt its readers to

¹ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, IV. 67-71.

sympathise with the modern Rhodians in their efforts towards reunion with the Hellenic commonwealth.

The speech of Archelaos. The following were the words of Archelaos :—

“ O friend of the Greeks, do not destroy a Greek city. O friend of freedom, do not destroy Rhodes. Also do not put to shame the glory of a Doric state hitherto unvanquished, and do not forget the brilliant history you learned both at Rhodes and at Rome. At Rhodes you heard what the Rhodians accomplished against states and kings (and especially against Demetrios and Mithridates, who were believed invincible), for the sake of that freedom for which you say that you also are now contending. At Rome you learned what services we rendered to you when we fought with you against others and against Antiochos the Great, concerning which you have columns inscribed in our honour.

“ Romans, allow these words to stand for our race, our dignity, our condition hitherto unenslaved, our alliance, and our goodwill towards you. As for you, Cassius, you owe an exceptional reverence to this city in which you were brought up and educated and lived, and had your hearthstone, and where you attended my very school. You owe respect to me, who hoped, with different expectations, that I should one day be proud of your education, but I am now pleading this relation on behalf of my country, lest it be forced into a war with you, who were educated and brought up by her, and because one of two things must necessarily happen : either that the Rhodians perish utterly, or that you, Cassius, be defeated. In addition to my appeal I advise you that while engaged in such important tasks on behalf of the Roman commonwealth you take the gods for your leaders at every step. You, Romans, swore by

the gods when you recently concluded a treaty with us through Caius Cæsar, and to the oaths you added libations, and gave the right hand, rites which constitute an assurance valid even among enemies; shall they not be valid among friends and guardians? In addition to the judgment of the gods have regard for the opinions of mankind, which considers nothing more base than a violation of treaties, which causes the violators to be distrusted in all respects by both friends and enemies."

Having concluded these touching words, the old man continued to hold the hand of Cassius, which he made wet with his tears. The Roman blushed at the sight of the venerable man's passion, and was visibly moved by a sense of shame, but Archelaos' appeal remained futile.

Cassius drew away his hand, and persisting in his attitude towards Rhodes, answered harshly and with a touch of irony. After complaining that the Rhodians had assisted Dolabella, he said :—

"Whatever aid you have rendered us when we were adding to our possessions (for which certainly you reaped abundant benefactions and rewards) you remind us of, but that in our time of adversity you do not join us in the struggle for freedom and safety, you forget. Even if we had had no relations with each other before, you ought, as members of the Doric race, now to begin to fight as volunteers for the Roman republic. Instead of such thoughts and deeds you quote to us treaties—treaties made with you by Caius Cæsar, the founder of the present monarchy—yet these very treaties say that the Romans and the Rhodians shall assist each other in case of need. Therefore, assist the Romans in the time of their greatest peril. It is Cassius who quotes these very treaties to you and calls for your

alliance in war—Cassius, a Roman citizen and a Roman general, whom, by the Senate's decree, all the countries beyond the Ionian Sea are ordered to obey. The same decrees are presented to you by Brutus, and also by Pompey, who has been invested by the Senate with the command of the sea. Added to these decrees are the prayers of all these senators who have fled, some to myself and Brutus, and others to Pompey. The treaty provides that the Rhodians shall help the Romans even in cases where the application is made by single individuals. If, however, you do not consider us as generals or even as Romans, but as exiles, or strangers, or persons condemned, as the proscribers call us, O Rhodians, you have no treaties with us, but only with the Roman people. As strangers and foreigners to the treaties, we will fight you unless you obey our orders in everything."

*Outbreak of hostilities.*¹ Archelaos with a broken heart returned to Rhodes and gave his message to the citizens. All understood what was to be done, for the only alternative was an appeal to arms. Therefore Alexander and Mnaseas, the strong men of the hour, with the thirty-three best ships of Rhodes under their command, proceeded to attack Cassius at Myndos, where they hoped to surprise him by the suddenness of their onslaught.

They were to some extent encouraged in this by the recollection that it was in the same place and under somewhat similar circumstances that their fathers surprised and terrified Mithridates, thus bringing the war to a successful conclusion. At first they stationed themselves at Cnidos, in order to show their oarsmanship, and the next day they appeared on the open sea before the eyes of the forces of Cassius. The latter

¹ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, IV. 71.

accepted the challenge and directed his fleet to go forth to meet the Rhodians in battle array. The struggle was one of might and skill on both sides.

The Rhodians with their lighter ships speedily forced a way through the Roman line and attacked it in the rear, but the Roman fleet contained more and far heavier ships than the Rhodians, and this enabled them to surround the latter, thereby diminishing the value of the Rhodians' superior quickness and mobility. Likewise, the ramming of the heavy Roman ships by the light Rhodian craft proved ineffective, whereas the same method followed by the Romans against the Rhodians did considerable damage.

Finally, two Rhodian ships were sunk by this ramming, three were captured with their crews, and the remainder of the Rhodian fleet, hard pressed and damaged, retired to Rhodes. The Roman fleet, being also seriously injured, did not pursue the Rhodians, but withdrew to Myndos for rest and repair.

Cassius watched the progress of the naval battle from a mountain, apparently like another Xerxes (who from Ægaleos watched the imperishable scenes of Salamis).

*The siege of Rhodes by Cassius.*¹ After this battle, having repaired his vessels, Cassius determined to lay siege to Rhodes both by sea and land.

For this purpose he sailed to the fortified port of Loryma, which stood opposite Rhodes and on the mainland belonging to the Rhodians. From there he shipped his soldiery under the command of Fannius and Lentulus to besiege Rhodes by land, whilst he in person accompanied them with eighty ships, strangely rigged, to strike terror into the islanders, and began the blockade by sea.

¹ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, IV. 72.

Knowing that the town was very insufficiently provisioned, as often happens in sudden emergency, he expected an immediate surrender. But the Rhodians once more decided to trust to the fortune of arms, and bravely sailed out to try conclusions in battle. After they had lost two ships, owing to the greater weight and number of their opponents, they returned to the harbour, where they were hemmed in on all sides.

Cassius, encouraged by the general situation and well prepared for the purpose, started a great attack on the city from every direction; the Rhodians responded vigorously to the assault, hurled from their walls missiles at the besiegers, who were led by Fannius, Lentulus and Cassius, and eventually succeeded in repulsing them.

*Occupation and sack of Rhodes.*¹ Yet, notwithstanding the stubborn resistance of the islanders, the grim spectre of starvation and lack of munitions stared them in the face, and caused them to fear that their unprepared city would fall either by assault or famine.

Therefore, it is recorded, some persons of the city who were deemed intelligent began discussions with Fannius and Lentulus, and whilst these negotiations were proceeding,—negotiations which carried with them issues so vital to the Rhodians,—Cassius suddenly and inexplicably appeared with a chosen band of soldiery in the middle of the town. He immediately took a seat on the tribunal and laid a spear beside it to impress the people that he was there by conquest. Yet the people, seeing no signs of violence or scaling-ladders or other signs of a struggle, concluded that Cassius entered the city through the small gates opened by citizens favourable to him. This was evidently a

¹ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, IV. 73 and 74.

case of treason, the abominable criminality of which no excuse on the ground of pity can lessen.

Appian¹ can report and accept the view he gives us in his history of the siege and capture of Rhodes by Cassius. He may agree with the view that this act on the part of citizens was justified as a result of sympathy for the people of Rhodes in their dire distress, to which they wished to put an end by unconditional capitulation, but their hasty or treasonable deed had an opposite effect. It brought immediate disaster on Rhodes and left an indelible blot on a page of its glorious history.

The capture gave Cassius the opportunity of bringing about the destruction of the Rhodian power, the execution of fifty of its most distinguished citizens, besides the banishment of twenty-five others who could not be found, and the filling of his own war-chest for furthering his impending civil war. To secure all the gold and silver in the town, both in coin and in ornament, he enforced severe discipline on his army, threatening with capital punishment all who should plunder or do violence. He put to death all citizens who hoarded treasure, and gave a reward of one-tenth to every informer, besides granting freedom in the case of slaves. Futile was the effort of the Rhodians to soften his wrath, as Plutarch tells us, by hailing him as lord and king, for he retorted, "neither lord nor king, but chastiser and slayer of your lord and king"—hinting at Cæsar, whom the islanders supported.

Thus Cassius, searching the city for all valuables, left nothing to the frightfully maltreated inhabitants except, says one writer, the bare houses of the Rhodians and the "Quadriga of the Helios."² But this is doubtless an exaggeration. Three thousand statues

¹ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, IV. 73 and 74. ² Dion Cassius, XLVII. 33, 3-4.

were sent to Rome, an enormous indemnity of 8,500 talents (L. 2,040,000) was exacted,¹ and the wealth of Rhodes, which at that time, as is asserted by Dion Chrysostom,² was greater than that of any other Greek city, was taken away.

This wealth, which was the fruit not only of the energy of the Rhodian people and of its good government, but more especially of that commercial honesty for which the islanders were celebrated during centuries, was totally lost.

Finlay,³ stigmatising this conduct, which was sucking the life-blood of Rhodes, uses the following pregnant words: "Cassius after he had taken Rhodes treated it in the most tyrannical manner, and displayed a truly Roman spirit of fiscal rapacity."

After this, Cassius, who was delighted with the rapidity of the capture of Rhodes, and the vast quantity of money gathered, left a garrison of 3,000 men under L. Varus to hold the city, and then passed away to the immortal field of Philippi.

Destruction of the maritime power of Rhodes. The blow struck by Cassius at Rhodes was especially disastrous to the financial classes of the island, as was the blow struck at the maritime power of the island by another Cassius, surnamed Parmesius, who, soon after the battle of Philippi, burnt part of the Rhodian ships in order to remove any danger of revolt, and sailed away with the remainder, which numbered thirty selected vessels.

Efforts towards reconstruction. Therefore M. Antony after the famous battle went to Rhodes, obliged L. Varus to withdraw and did his best to support the

¹ Plutarch's *Brutus*, XXX. 2.

² *Rhodiæ*. pp. 362-3.

³ Vol. I. p. 54.

island and grant it relief, as he had already done to other cities which likewise had greatly suffered from Cassius and Brutus.

Thus he restored its freedom and strengthened it by the addition of Myndos¹ and the islands of the Cyclades, Andros, Naxos and Tenos.

After the battle of Actium, Rhodes was made a *civitas fœderata* by Augustus, as it had been from the year 164 B.C., while Cos, which for a time was under a tyrant called Nikias, was probably attached to the province of Asia.

Augustus also hoped that all the provinces of the east would find a relief from the misery caused by the long civil wars, if they had remission of foreign debts. But while other cities joyfully received the proposed benefit, the Rhodians,² being far-sighted, refused it, thinking that it would be more to their interest if they established their credit abroad by adhering to their engagements.

Visible signs of revival. So, if Cassius had, in a military sense, stabbed Rhodes to the heart, though she was paralyzed and helpless as a fighting power yet she was not dead.

In spite of political exhaustion, she slowly but steadily revived in seafaring and commercial activity, to the benefit again of both Greece and Rome.

The vital spark of her Hellenic nature, the honesty so characteristic of her people in all its commercial transactions, and her sunny climate, gave Rhodes again the opportunity to recover to some extent her previous prosperity and to form again a centre of good internal administration and of flourishing schools, and a shrine of art. These faculties contributed to the fact that

¹ Appian, *The Civil Wars*, V. 7.

² Dion. Chrys. p. 367.

Rhodes regained her place as a valuable resort for visitors, who required rest or desired to complete their education, or wished to admire simplicity and chastity of manners and life. She attracted, too, all who loved art in its varied form or who wished to come in contact with living artists of great merit such as those who at about this period had produced the marvellous group of Laocoon, which has been considered throughout the centuries a masterpiece of Greek sculpture.

Amongst the visitors and admirers of Rhodes were poets, orators, and statesmen, who came, as Polybios had done a long time before, to study the archives of the island. We find here in the list of names the Emperors Tiberius, Nero, Vespasian, Trajan and Hadrian.

In this Rhodes vied with Athens, which likewise at that time drew similar people with the same tastes and wishes. But from the deadly blow delivered by Cassius Parmesius against the fighting navy of Rhodes, as also from the consequent political disaster, the island never recovered. The means for constructing a new navy were taken away from her, and the individual efforts which she made were ineffectual, as she was now more or less under the direct control of Rome. But the delivery of Rhodes from the grasp of war, giving time to heal its wounds, likewise offered the islanders the opportunity of turning their attention to the arts and crafts of peace.

After Augustus to M. A. Antoninus. Under the Roman emperors who succeeded Augustus the autonomy of Rhodes was of a capricious and uncertain nature, which argues in favour of the statement by Tacitus, "*Rhodiis libertas adempta sæpe aut firmata.*" But we must not forget that the maintenance of liberty in general was unstable at that time, for the word may

have sounded well in the mouth of a Roman, even of a Nero, but in practice it signified nothing. Therefore Dion Chrysostom,¹ seeing that the Rhodians, in order to keep their so-called freedom, were obliged to raise a bronze statue to every Roman who came to Rhodes, advises them frankly to admit their slavery to every one. Thus, Claudius withdrew (A.D. 44) the erratic freedom of Rhodes, but afterwards when Agrippina had put forward her young son Nero to advocate the Rhodian cause in the Senate, he restored the island's freedom (A.D. 53).

During that year, Cos also was declared "immunis" by the same emperor, and it was stated that this was due to the influence of his physician Xenophon, a native of this island.

In the reign of Vespasian, Rhodes appears to have again lost and recovered her much-desired autonomy as a sovereign state, for this emperor, during the earlier period of his rule, seems to have withdrawn the freedom of the islanders, though it is somewhat uncertain what was the political position of Rhodes at that time. One opinion is that for a period she belonged to the province of Asia; another is that for a short time she belonged to Pamphylia; and another that, from the days of this emperor, Rhodes became the capital of the islands of the Ægean (*Metropolis totius Ægæi maris (or Asiæ) insularum*), and remained so later with a few intervals.

Yet again, we gather from Dion Chrysostom,² whose speeches were probably delivered at the time of Nerva or Trajan, that Rhodes was not then a part of the Roman Empire, but a free state from the days of Titus.³ An obvious proof of this is the fact that Bryceus, a city in Carpathos, under the reign of Domitian belonged to

¹ *Rhodiæ*, pp. 357, 361, 363, 378, 382.

² *Ibid.*

³ Gelder, *Gesch. der Alt. Rhod.* p. 175.

the Rhodians, which suggests that the latter at that period were not subjects of Rome, having subjects of their own in the islands, in Caria, in Lycia, as in the old days. On the other hand, by that time Rhodes appears to have quite recovered economically and to have been as wealthy as before, because the writer Aristeides,¹ possibly exaggerating somewhat, states that the island was wealthier than ever before. But the freedom of the Dodecanese, depending on the whims of each emperor, could not endure long. And, indeed, we can see from the speeches of the same Aristeides that at the time he spoke (A.D. 155) the island had become completely part of the Roman Empire. The orator calls it the best possession of the Roman Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.

The second great earthquake. It was at this time that a great earthquake wrecked Rhodes, Cos, Symi and some other neighbouring islands and cities. We have most details about the first island. We are informed that the great city of Rhodes was completely overthrown and resembled a wild coast of rock and stone and débris, and moreover that the majority of the citizens perished and were buried under these ruins, which, as Aristeides writes,² turned the city into a tomb of its people. The disaster recalled the traditional catastrophe of Rhodes, which took place nearly four centuries previously.

All this woeful damage was sumptuously repaired by the emperor,³ and the inhabitants were promptly brought back to their newly erected homes. The city of Rhodes, in particular, appears to have been quite itself again in respect of its ancient wealth and grandeur.

After M. A. Antoninus to the division of the Roman

¹ *Rhod.* pp. 345, 354-358.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Pausan.* VIII. 43, 4.

Empire. It seems more probable that the definite absorption of Rhodes into the Roman Empire occurred under the reign of Diocletian (245–313), who created the province of the islands (“*provincia insularum*” or Νῆσοι Κυκλάδες) with Rhodes as capital. Amongst the islands comprising this province are Cos and Astypalaia.

The administrative power of this province was in the hands of a *præses*, who was subject to the proconsul of the province of Asia, and resided at Rhodes.

From the time of their complete subjection to Rome the islands of the Dodecanese became more indistinct in the picture of history.

The only events which have come down to us are unimportant, such as the erecting of statues to emperors, and statesmen, and the like at Ialysos, Lindos, Carpathos, etc.

These Romans had a mania for being immortalised by statues, principally in Rhodes, and the accommodating Rhodians easily provided them from the large supply of statues which they had in their city. They only required to affix a newly sculptured head on illustrious ancient shoulders, however inappropriate the result might appear.

But during this Roman sway the Dodecanesians kept in close touch with the other Greeks. They joined in the national games, read the great poets and dramatists, and took great interest in all things concerning the Hellenic people.

The last record we have of the ancient political history of the Dodecanese is dated January A.D. 380, when the Rhodians appealed to the Emperor Theodosius the Great with regard to the continued absence from Rhodes of his *præses*. The rest is darkness except for a few rays of light which pierced the gloom from time to time.

CHAPTER VII

BYZANTINE PERIOD

The place of the Dodecanese in the Byzantine Empire.

The light became brighter, and the relief of the islanders considerable when, after the division of the Roman Empire, the insular province passed to the Eastern or Byzantine control. The Dodecanesians, worthy of their glorious traditions, were now again able to contribute to the general progress and solidifying of the Hellenic civilisation, and to increase greatly the naval forces of the Greek Empire, thereby sharing largely in the conquests effected over the enemies of the Empire and of Christendom.

But the individual names of the various Dodecanesian islands embodied in the one whole Byzantine Empire were naturally lost in its history. However brilliant their deeds may have been, either on sea or even on land, it is to the Byzantine arms that the glory has gone. Yet each deeply felt the satisfaction of having had the honour of participating in this victory for the Empire, just as in our days the provinces of a state rejoice to think that they have taken their share in producing, like bees, the honeycomb of the commonwealth.

Only when the matter was specially connected with the islands do we hear of their doings and events.

Events and administrative changes in the Dodecanese.

In this way the Byzantine writers mention that under the Emperor Anastasios I. (A.D. 515), and later on under Constans II., the Rhodians suffered again from earth-

quakes. Dealing with quite another subject, they refer to the remarkable Rhodian bricks, used at the time of the Emperor Justinian for the construction of the cupola of St. Sophia. The special composition of this white and light fabric remained a secret of the Rhodian dexterity in pottery.

We learn also from Hierocles that the islands retained for some centuries under the Byzantines the same political position that they had under the Roman Empire. For we read that in the province of the islands, an administrative division of the Empire, the following twenty cities were under the control of a governor (*ἡγεμῶν*):¹ Rhodes, Cos, Samos, Chios, Mytilene, Methymna, *Petelos*, Tenedos, Proselene, Andros, Tenos, Naxos, Paros, Siphnos, Melos, Ios, Thera, Amorgos, Astypalaia.

One city is missing from this list to make up the twenty; probably this was Carpathos, which has a prominent place in the ecclesiastical division of the Empire in the Ægean waters.

But this province of the islands, which reminds us of the Diocletian system of administration, varied in the course of time in accordance with the tendency which began in the days of Justinian to combine smaller units with larger ones, or to dissolve large districts into smaller.

A remarkable instance of combination is the so-called prefecture of the three provinces made up of Cyprus, Caria with the Ionian islands, and Scythia, which were put under the administration of the prefect of Scythia, whose residence was at Odessos.

Some historians, referring to this singular arrangement, included Rhodes within this prefecture, but we

¹ *Compend. Hieroclis*, p. 395, κδ'.

think this is erroneous, because John Lydos names¹ clearly the Ionian islands and those which were separated by Justinian from the command of the general of the Anatolia (East), and naturally Rhodes was not an Ionian, but a Dorian island.

This alteration in the distribution of the provinces of the empire, which, as already stated, began at the time of Justinian (535), proceeded to the system of the Themes (θέματα), as the districts began to be called during the seventh century. These Themes comprised large territories, and were for bellicose purposes, because of the wars waged against Saracens, and they were generally placed under a military governor, a strategos. This system proved to be beneficial for the defence of the Empire, and was extended during the eighth century for more convenience, by reducing the size of the Themes and increasing their number. The old Latin nomenclature in the administration of the state was now changed, and either Greek or new names were substituted.

The new administrative régime continued with some changes during the reigns of Leo VI., the Wise (886–912), and Constantine Porphyrogennetos (912–958), and during the later period of the Empire. The regal chronicler, Constantine Porphyrogennetos, gives us a full description of the thematic system in his treatise, “On the Themes,” and we learn from it that seventeen Asiatic and twelve European Themes formed the Byzantine State in his time. In this account we find that Rhodes and Symi were assigned to the Theme of the Cibyrræots, so named after the small maritime town of Cibyrra, while it appears that the island of

¹ Περὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν τῆς Ρωμαίων πολιτείας, 192, 29. See also Bury, *A History of the Later Roman Empire*, p. 28.

Cos and its neighbours were placed in the Theme of Samos, whilst Astypalaia and the other islands of our Dodecanese were incorporated with that of the Dodecanese or the Ægean Sea.

Thus the twelve islands were apportioned to the three principal naval Themes of the Byzantine Empire, which largely constituted its maritime power.

We do not know if this distribution of the twelve islands began for all or for some of them from the seventh century. The light thrown on the subject of the Themes is still insufficient for certitude and for full description of its development.

Invasions. But the large extent of the Empire and its great prosperity made it the object of predatory raids from all quarters. A natural consequence of this was that the extremities, particularly those that were wealthy or populous, were the most exposed to hostile attack. Thus we see that Isaurians, Persians, Saracens, Venetians, Genoese, Crusaders, Knights of St. John and Turks appear in turn in our Dodecanese.

The first of these are reported to have attacked the island of Rhodes in A.D. 470 and to have done much damage before they were met by organised forces, which ejected them.

The next aggressor, the Persians, descended on Rhodes under the very ambitious and terrible Chosroes II. during A.D. 620. Happily they did not tarry long, because Heracleios, the first "Basileus (king), faithful in God," and in spirit the first of the crusaders, brought the warfare on to the enemy's territory, and on his approach with the Byzantine fleet (622) the invaders fled from the region which they had so injured.

But despite the military triumphs and the moral efforts of Heracleios towards cementing and consolidating

the Empire, new events of great gravity arose to lower its prestige and diminish its extent.

The new and very redoubtable enemy, who with prodigious strides advanced on the stage of history, under the name of Arabs or Saracens, had struck a mortal blow at Persia, had taken away province after province from the imperial territory, and conceived the plan of grasping the ascendancy in the Mediterranean and even of attacking the capital itself. The vigour and courage of Heracleios was not shown by his grandson and successor, Constans II. (642–668), and whilst the latter was much occupied in theological controversies in the interior of the Byzantine Empire, the astute Arab fanned the flames of dogmatic division, invaded the Empire, and constructed fleets for vast schemes at sea.

Naturally, the Dodecanese was critically involved in this conflict, as also were the large islands of Cyprus and Crete, which on account of their geographical position were more open to the frequent buccaneering attacks of the Saracens, by whom their liberties were menaced.

During these wild and lawless days the energetic ruler of Syria, Muavia¹, raised by the Caliph Othman to the chief command of the Arabs, was sent against the Byzantine Empire with a strong army and a great fleet.

The Saracens soon became masters of the sea, and the insular peoples were exposed to their rapacious greed.

Cos was assailed and captured; the city was pillaged, and the island devastated. The same fate befell Carpathos, and apparently the other islands as well.

Then Rhodes fell into their hands (A.D. 654), and the celebrated Colossos, prostrate ever since its fall (227

¹ Sometimes spelt Moariah.

B.C.), was broken up and its huge fragments were disposed of for profit to a Hebrew merchant of Edessa, and the immense mass of brass is reported to have been a load for 900 camels. Thus these remains, which in the eyes of the Greeks and Romans seemed almost sacred, were dispersed by the Vandal hand and the avidity of the intruder. The obvious and amusing error here made by the Byzantine writers is very striking, both in regard to date and weight. It is a well-known fact that the fall of the great statue was due to the earthquake in 227 B.C. and that it was not hurled down by Muaviah and his marauders, as is stated by them. On the other hand, the ponderous debris is variously described as having been removed by anything between 900 and 30,080 camels. In addition there is a further version by Constantine Porphyrogennetos that the remains were purchased by the Jew in Syria, where Muaviah had taken them for sale, and that the purchaser loaded 980 camels with the bronze.¹

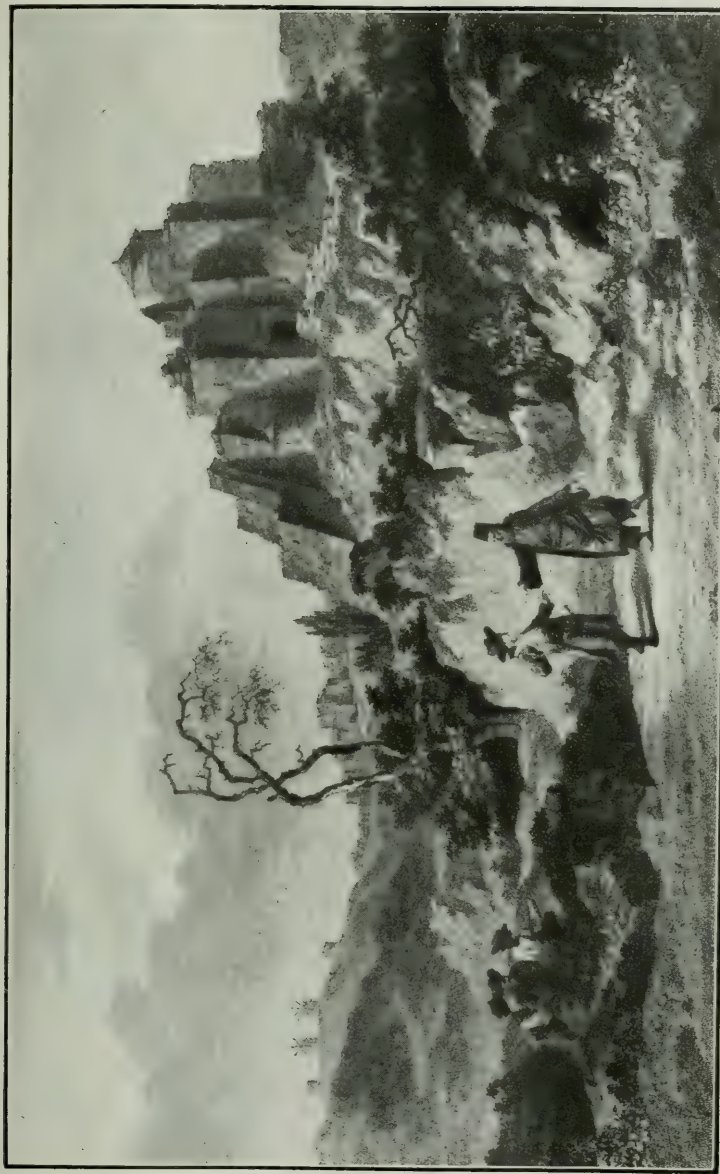
Rhodes did not remain long in Saracen hands, for, the Caliph being murdered, civil war broke out amongst the pretenders to the Caliphate, Muaviah and Ali, and the former, occupied with this great struggle, was compelled to make a peace favourable to the Greek Empire (A.D. 659), and in accordance with the terms of this treaty Rhodes returned to the Byzantines.

Some Byzantine chroniclers, such as Theophanes, who is not distinguished for chronological exactitude, represent this event as having occurred at a later period, in A.D. 672, when Muaviah sent against Constantinople a numerous fleet under Abd. Errahman, the destruction of which culminated in an event of immense historical importance.

¹ Theoph. *Chron.* p. 385, 8, 12.

But the Dodecanese was freed from this scourge only temporarily, because the Saracen menace, which was continually hanging round the fringes of its coasts, again proved its reality. This happened a little later than the time when the emperor of Byzantium, Anastasios II., made a great effort to face the attack impending on his capital from this enemy. In 715 the emperor was informed that the Caliph Suleiman had sent a fleet from Alexandria to Phœnicia, in order to hew down timber (cypress wood) for ships and greatly increase the power of his navy. Then immediately Anastasios decided to attack the enemy whilst he was occupied with this preparation. For this purpose he selected his fastest ships, on which he placed skilled archers from the Opsikian Theme (in Asia), and, strangely enough, gave the chief command to the Deacon of the Great Church (St. Sophia), John, nicknamed Pappa Yannakis. His orders enjoined this commander to assemble the fleet at Rhodes and thence to proceed to Phœnicia and burn the timber felled and massed there, besides all the equipment of the enemy. But when this fleet, together with the troops, was assembled at Rhodes, and the admiral had given orders for steering to Phœnicia, a mutiny broke out amongst the Opsikians, who murdered him with clubs, deposed the emperor, whom they greatly disliked, and resolved to proceed against Constantinople, whilst the remainder of the forces were dispersed. This fatality placed on the throne of Byzantium Theodosios III., a tax-gatherer, and afforded the Saracens an opportunity more hopefully to throw themselves towards Constantinople, and on their way they retook Rhodes (717).

This occupation by the Arabs lasted not more than one year, because the disaster sustained by their fleet,



{Choiseul-Gouffier

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. JOHN IN PATMOS
(From an old picture)

partly due to the newly introduced Greek fire, compelled them to give up aggression, and resign themselves to the defensive for the time being.

Once more, during the fourth year of the reign of Nikephoros I. (A.D. 807), a Saracen fleet sent by the Caliph Haroun-al-Raschid under the command of Houmeid suddenly invaded the island, ravaged the land and barbarously maltreated the population. But, unable to take possession of the well-defended city of Rhodes, they withdrew, carrying away much booty and reducing many persons to slavery.¹

When capable emperors were at the head of affairs, and the mainspring of the imperial machine was in full operation, the extremities of its mechanism worked well, but when there was no efficiency at the centre, the same parts of the state failed in their functions, being open to perpetual attacks from outside, or internal divisions.

The Empire entered into a serious crisis about the second half of the eleventh century. Besides numerous revolts within, two new and formidable enemies had appeared; the Normans in Europe, and the Seljouk Turks in Asia. The Comnenoi who took over the power of the Empire (1081) tried, with some success, to meet these dangers.

Memorable also are the manifold efforts of this dynasty for raising the standard of social life and improving the condition of the Church. Incidental to these was the erection (1088) of the Monastery of Saint John at Patmos by Christodoulos, where the simplest life was to be united to high intellectuality.

But the whole drift of this tendency towards betterment was seriously obstructed by an unforeseen intrusion,

¹ Theoph. *Chron.* I. p. 749. Kedrenos, II. p. 36.

which aroused the passions between the East and the West, and facilitated the dismemberment of the Byzantine Empire, by giving the opportunity to both Latins and Turks to advance on its territory, and by spreading alarm and misery. The Crusaders appeared under the walls of Constantinople (1096).

At first the unifying spirit of the policy of Alexios Comnenos had the effect of causing the chiefs of the first Crusade to swear allegiance and to give back to the Empire such towns as they might retake from the Seljouk Turks, the consequence being the union of the Byzantine forces with them. Unhappily this was not of long duration. The Dodecanese was very naturally affected by this agreement. At the outset, the Seljouks, who had established themselves at Rhodes for piratical purposes, disappeared as quickly as they had come, on the approach of the Byzantine fleet, after the capture of Nikaia by the crusaders (1097). On the other hand, the Rhodian shipping continually provisioned the crusaders whilst they were besieging Antioch, and still more efficiently during their march on Jerusalem, which fell during the month of July 1099.

During the same year a Venetian fleet had reached Rhodes for the purpose of passing the winter there, before proceeding on its journey to the Holy Land. Amongst the privileges granted to the Venetians by the Emperor Alexios Comnenos for their support against the Normans was the opening of the harbours of Rhodes to their commerce; they thought, therefore, that this state of things entitled them to sojourn there.

The emperor disliked this action of the Venetians, which seemed to him like a new ambitious expansion of theirs, and an extension of the crusaders into his Empire. He therefore employed all possible means to get rid of

them. But the Bishop Arrigo Contarini, one of the two commanders, rose to the situation, and with great subtlety argued that it would be wicked to renounce the crusade.

Alexios then decided to attack the Venetian fleet, for which purpose he dispatched fifty Pisan ships. The Venetians asked them to go away like good Christians, but the Pisan answer was of a provocative nature. Thereupon the former attacked the latter with thirty ships, and with such success that they captured twenty-eight of the Pisan ships with their crews.

Some years later (1103), another Pisan fleet went to the support of Bohemond, who, notwithstanding the agreement of the crusaders with the Emperor Alexios, occupied Antioch and contributed to the enmity which followed. Attacked east of Rhodes by the Byzantine fleet, it only escaped destruction by the coming of a storm, which compelled the Byzantines reluctantly to retire to Teutlussa of Symi, and so enabled the defeated fleet to withdraw in time.

Jean Comnenos, surnamed Calojannis, who succeeded in 1118 to the Byzantine throne, refused to continue the treaty which recognised commercial privileges to the Venetians, but after a period of warfare (1122-1126) he was obliged to re-grant them.

Meanwhile, the Rhodians, in consonance with the prevailing sentiment at Constantinople, which refused to accord preferential treatment to Venetian commerce in the Greek Empire, declined to provide supplies for the Venetian fleet in 1125, and closed their harbours to it. The Venetians burst the gates, sacked the city, and maltreated the inhabitants.

The tempest from which, for a time, the ability and diplomacy of the Comnenoi had saved the Empire, now

burst upon it, after having threatened for more than a hundred years. The crown fell into the hands of men unequal to the situation, and both internal and external troubles hung over the Empire, gravely menacing it with impending ruin.

The crusaders considered the Empire as a convenient high-road to perambulate without any restriction, while various leading families were making imperial provinces into their own private estates, such as Isaac Comnenos in Cyprus, and Gabras in Trebizond.

About this time (1191) King Richard Cœur-de-Lion stopped at Rhodes with a British fleet, and Walter Vinisauf records "the profound astonishment with which Richard and the English army viewed the splendid remains of mightier works of art."¹

The English king shortly afterwards left for Cyprus, of which he took temporary possession, thereafter continuing his journey to Palestine. Not long after, Philip of France also visited Rhodes on his return from the Holy Land.

Favoured by the internal and external troubles of the Empire, a Turkish leader named Tsachas had been enabled to conquer Lesbos and Rhodes,² but his rule seems to have been of short duration, because a Byzantine fleet under John Ducas arrived in these waters, and after an engagement expelled him and re-established the imperial authority (1193).

The Latin conquest of Constantinople. The dissensions round the Byzantine throne opened the door to the interested intervention of the leaders of the fourth Crusade, then concentrated at Venice, and induced them to deviate from their intended route, and turn their prows towards Constantinople. The result was,

¹ Finlay, *A Hist. of Greece*, Vol. I. p. 65.

² Ephraem. v. 1640.

as we know, that the city fell by assault into the hands of the Latins, who divided the remains of the Byzantine Empire between them.¹

But in opposition to this Latin dismemberment, some powerful Greek leaders rose up, placed themselves at the head of their followers and formed small Greek states in various parts of the fallen Empire. These men cherished the warm hope that with the revival of the national spirit Constantinople would soon be recovered, and the Greek Empire re-animated and restored.

Two men now step on to the stage of history: Theodore Lascaris (1206–1222), who was crowned Emperor of the Romans at the historic Nikaia; and Leon Gabalas, who was born in Crete and subsequently became ruler of Rhodes, Carpathos and other neighbouring islands, which he declared to be an independent principality, taking to himself the title of Lord of the Cyclades (*αὐθέντης* or *ἄρχων τῶν Κυκλάδων*), and even Cæsar.²

In accordance with the clauses of the Treaty of Partition formulated by the crusaders in March 1204, the lion's share fell to Venice, which, as we saw, had been greatly instrumental in inciting them on to the conquest of the Byzantine Empire.

Leon Gabalas at Rhodes. The Duchy of Dodecanese. Amongst the lands apportioned to Venice were most of the Greek islands, but whether Rhodes and her satellites were embraced within these we are not informed. What we do know is that the Venetian republic did not attempt to take possession of Rhodes and her sister islands, but

¹ Georg. Acropol. *Niket. Choniât.* Michaud, *The Hist. of the Crusaders*, II. pp. 131 f. and 149 f.

² Georg. Acropol. pp. 49, 50, 92. *Niket. Choniât.* p. 842. W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 43.

left Leon Gabalas to continue his sway over the regions undisturbed. We can also observe at this period that none of the private Venetians, who might have benefited by the declaration of his republic, came to assert their rights on Rhodes, or to possess them by force.

Venice, feeling unable to occupy all the lands conferred on her by the treaty, or unwilling to waste her military and financial strength, allowed some Venetian citizens to carry through this task in the Ægean Sea,¹ with a view to drawing her own settlers there, thereby extending Venetian power.

Marco Sanudo, a wealthy and distinguished Venetian, having heard this decision at Constantinople, immediately took private action. He sailed with eight ships, fitted out at his expense, to the Cyclades, where he seized Naxos, the gem of the Cyclades, and seventeen of its neighbouring islands (A.D. 1207).²

Some of these, with Naxos as capital, he kept under his direct administration, whilst to others he appointed his chief companions as governors. Amongst these was Marino Dandolo, to whom was given Andros, and John Quirini, who received Astypalaia, a name which the Venetian colonists and sailors corrupted into Stampalia, as they had made Arcipelago or Agiopelagi of the "Aigaion pelagos," Stanco of Cos, Serfento of Serifos, Sdili of Delos, Namfio of Anaphe, etc., as that distinguished writer, Mr. William Miller points out.³

Marco Sanudo, styling himself Duke Marco I., called the islands under his sway "Duchy of Dodecanese," in accordance with its old Byzantine designation, "the Dodecanesos," and a little later he named it "Duchy of Naxos," after the capital of the Duchy, or "Duchy

¹ W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 42 f. ² *Ibid.* ³ *Ibid.* pp. 571, 576.

of the Archipelago" (or "Agio Pelagi"), or "Kingdom of the twelve islands."¹

We also know that whilst these new political developments were occurring, the island of Patmos was not assailed, for, being in the eyes of the Venetians a sacred shrine, known to them as "Sanctus Joannes de Palmasa," it retained its independence, and many privileges were conferred on its monastery.²

Leon Gabalas ruled as an independent sovereign at Rhodes, Carpathos and the neighbouring islands, until the year 1224, but during that year the clever Greek emperor of Nikaia, John Ducas Vatatzes, making Holcos, lying near Lampsacos, his base for operations against the Latins, whom he terrified by his imposing naval preparations, pushed his way with a strong fleet through the Hellespont to the Ægean Sea.³

He took nearly all the islands which were under the Latins, such as Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Cos, Samos, Icaria and the islands adjacent to them, and proceeding to Rhodes took possession of it. The stay of the emperor in the island was not long, and an agreement was come to by which Leon Gabalas remained as ruler in the place, under the imperial suzerainty, and still retaining the dignity of Cæsar, which was an innovation in the Byzantine history, as regards the legitimacy of the bearer of the title.

We can point to some coins⁴ which establish this fact, because the vassal Gabalas is represented on them as servant of the emperor (δοῦλος τοῦ βασιλέως).

¹ Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 571. Schlumberger, *Num.* pp. 343 and 392.

² *Ibid.* pp. 44 and 576.

³ Acropol. p. 49. *Niket. Choniati.* p. 842. *Nikeph. Gregor.* Vol. I. p. 98. *Ephraem.* p. 338, v. 8143 ff. Schlumberger, *Num.* p. 215. Gibbon, Vol. VII. p. 431. Finlay, Vol. III. p. 305.

⁴ Schlumberger (*Num.* p. 216) states that four varieties of the Gabalas coins exist, all equally of copper. See also pp. 214, 215.

Nevertheless, Leon Gabalas still remained desirous of independence, and in the year 1233 he declared himself free of imperial control. This prompted Vatatzes to employ extreme measures against him, for which purpose he sent to Rhodes a large naval and military force, under the command of Andronicos Palaiologos, a highly placed official of his Empire (μέγας δομέστικος¹) and a man of historic importance. The military operations of Andronicos Palaiologos against the rebel were successful and in accordance with the intentions of the emperor.² The assertion of certain modern historians³ alleging a retreat of Andronicos from Rhodes owing to the advance of the Latin Emperor of Constantinople, John of Brienne, against Holcos, is incorrect, because, as Byzantine writers show, the Emperor John Vatatzes confronted him with such forces as were at his command. But it is apparent that Leon Gabalas, although again compelled to recognise the sovereignty of the Emperor of Nikaia, nevertheless resented that fact, for within a short time we find him in treaty with Venice. According to the clauses of this covenant, which was ratified in August 1234, Venice acquired certain privileges securing the extension of its trade, whilst Gabalas, who was recognised as Cæsar and Lord of Rhodes and the Cyclades, likewise obtained important commercial advantages. Besides this, the two contracting parties mutually agreed to assist each other in case of attack by the Greek emperor or rebels.

But the national spirit which was making for concord brought a reconciliation between Vatatzes and the recalcitrant Leon, so we find the latter in command of the Greek fleet against the Venetians during the siege

¹ *Magnus domesticus*.

² *Acropol.* Vol. I. pp. 49-50. *Ephraem.* p. 328, v. 8145 f.

³ *Schlumberger, Num.* pp. 214 ff. *Torr, Vol. II.* p. 7.

of Constantinople (1236) by Vatatzes, allied with the Bulgar Tsar, John Asen, who was a loyal friend to the emperor until his death, which occurred four years later (1240).

John Gabalas at Rhodes and its seizure by Genoese.

John Gabalas succeeded his brother as ruler of Rhodes and the neighbouring islands. This governor, seeing the growing power of the emperor and conscious that this excellent sovereign was the natural and racial protector of the Hellenic peoples, sought to accommodate himself to the imperial will more consistently than had his brother. Therefore he offered his services and promptly appeared with his forces where the emperor was engaged in war.

During an absence of John Gabalas in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, with a view to aiding the emperor against the Latins, a Genoese fleet came overnight to Rhodes, and almost treacherously and in defiance of the alliance of the emperor with the republic of Genoa, seized it.¹ The emperor was greatly vexed and, though at war, he despatched a small force under John Cantacuzenos to Rhodes. The latter landed on the island and took possession of the castle of Phileremos, and fought against the Genoese with such force as he could dispose. When substantial reinforcements were sent to him, he encamped near the city, and besieged it. But he could make no impression on the besieged Genoese, because they were well provisioned and equipped for war, having found in the Rhodian houses all necessary stores of food, which they violently confiscated, at the same time, as Acropolites states, commandeering all the beautiful women and dismissing the rest. But Rhodes would doubtless have fallen to the skilful strategical methods

¹ Acropol. Vol. I. pp. 92-95.

of the Byzantine army, had not an unexpected coincidence occurred, which temporarily altered the situation. For it so happened that at this moment William of Villehardouin, Prince of Achaia, born and bred in the Peloponnesos, was approaching the island and came into communication with the Genoese. The result was that he supported them by leaving about five score selected knights from his contingent,¹ which obliged the Byzantines to raise the siege of the city and to withdraw to Phileremos.

Leaving the Genoese to guard the city, this small body of knights went forth into the open country for plunder. There the intruders got what they sought, largely aided in this by their cruisers and other piratical ships, which ravaged the seas and coasts, while the Byzantines were reduced to short commons. The emperor, being informed of the state of things, determined to act as befitted the circumstances.

He went to Smyrna, where he prepared a fighting fleet and transport ships for the conveyance of three hundred cavalymen and their horses. The command of this fleet was given to Theodore Contostephanos, titularly bearing the palace dignity of Protosebastos, and he was guided by a complete written strategical plan for waging the war.

Brilliant victory crowned the operations of Contostephanos at Rhodes. He at once fell upon the knights whilst they were ravaging the land, and put them all to the sword; he then turned towards the city, where the Genoese garrison had but a limited force for resistance. After a short struggle it entered into negotiations with Contostephanos, which terminated in the surrender of the city, and the appearance of the Genoese before

¹ Finlay, *A Hist. of Greece*, Vol. III, p. 313.

the emperor, who, being of humane temperament, and worthy of the tribute paid to him by historians,¹ granted them a free pardon.

Rhodes returns to the Empire. Thus Rhodes was freed from this alien incubus by Greek arms, and apparently John Gabalas was restored to his previous dignity by the emperor, and retained it until his death, which is supposed to have occurred in A.D. 1250.

After the death of John Gabalas, Rhodes and the surrounding islands came under the direct authority of the Emperor of Nikaia, and into the hands of the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, when the Latin Emperor Baldwin II. was ejected from the queen of cities, and the Greek Emperor Michael Palaiologos from Nikaia retraced his steps to the national Hellenic throne.

It was then that this emperor granted Rhodes and Lesbos² as an appanage to his brother John Palaiologos, but after the latter fell into disgrace (1225) the islands returned to the direct imperial control.

Michael Palaiologos made every effort to restore the vitality of the Byzantine Empire, but the Latin conquest had been such a fatal blow that it was impossible for him, though powerful and energetic, to control the situation.

Much of the provincial territory was under the foot of the foreigner, or formed separate Hellenic states; new enemies were menacing, principally from Asia in the person of the Turk; and from various other directions the Serbs, Franks, Venetians and Genoese were impinging on the Empire, and ceaseless struggles were the order of the day, whilst the attempted religious reunion of the Churches led to disunion and bitterness. All these,

¹ Acropol. pp. 92-95. Ephraem. pp. 346, 347 (v. 8626-8652).

² Schlumberger, *Num.* p. 217.

added to the suspicions of the emperor regarding the security of his throne, afforded endless sources of disturbance, which dried up the springs of prosperity, paralysed the operations of the imperial state, and mortally injured its maritime power and, consequently, its over-sea trade.

The Italian republics, Venice and Genoa, which, as we know, had for long attempted to gain the mastery of the Levant waters, showed that they had no intention of letting the Empire recover its power, at the time when Chios was held by Genoese, and most of the other islands of the Ægean besides Crete, by Venice or Venetian adventurers.

On the contrary they did all they could to wrench concessions from the emperors, with the result that these alienated one of the rival republics when they benefited the other, and caused the ships of the disappointed state, and not unfrequently of both states, to ravage the seas and coasts of the shaky Empire.¹

The history of Rhodes at this period illustrates these observations. After the return of Rhodes to the Empire, the emperor's sway was little more than nominal, the island and its neighbours having become a tempting prey for the most crafty Genoese corsairs and also a base for their piratical raids, both in the pitiless war of Genoa against Venice and in the ordinary depredations of maritime commerce.

Thus when the imperial governor Krivikiotes was in office at Rhodes, he was obliged to witness their coming and going without hindrance, and even to associate himself with their transactions; and the situation became even worse when the emperors appointed Genoese, who had been previously in their naval service, as rulers

¹ Oman, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 314.

of Rhodes and of some of her sister islands, such as Cos, Calymnos, Leros.

Such persons as came to the front in this administration of the island were the following: First, Giovanni dello Cavo, a native of the island of Anaphe and a daring corsair, who had gained at Rhodes a reputation in a struggle with his countryman Del Moro. During this struggle he had called in the Turcomans to his aid, and whilst this enabled him to cast out his foe, it was also the means of letting in the Moslem.

The next man to appear is Vignolo de' Vignoli, after whom in the year 1282 came another Genoese lord, Andrea Moresco, nephew of Vignolo. To him and his brother Ludovico, the emperor Andronicos II. gave as fiefs, Rhodes, Carpathos, Casos and other places,¹ but these brothers could not have had the whole of Rhodes, because, as we have seen, the Moslems were already in possession of parts of it.

Andrea Moresco having been captured by the king of Cyprus during one of his buccaneering exploits, his brother Ludovico ruled alone, but the latter being defeated by a joint force of Venetians, Cypriotes and Turks, the noble Cretan Andrea Cornaro took from him (1306-7) the islands of Carpathos and Casos, and two years later he took Ludovico prisoner whilst attempting to reconquer Carpathos.

The siege of Rhodes by the Knights of St. John. It was at this time that Vignolo, having arrived in Cyprus to obtain the liberation of his nephew, Andrea Moresco, met with Fulk² de Villaret, the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, sometimes called the Hospitallers. This famous religious and military Order had taken up its abode in Cyprus during

¹ Schlumberger, *Num.* p. 277.

² Or Foulques in French.

the reign of Henry II. of Lusignan, after its compulsory retirement from St. Jean d'Acre, which was captured by the Soudan of Egypt, Khalil Ascrif (1291). But it had no intention of stopping there. Cyprus was but a temporary asylum, and the Knights were unwilling to live dependent on the tolerance of the local potentate.

Ever since they left the Holy Land the Knights had been looking for a suitable spot which they might make into their permanent home and use as headquarters for their activities, which lately, on account of the Turkish advance, had become of a very military nature. They thought that this was no longer the time when the Hospitallers could minister to the sick pilgrims, and to the poor at Jerusalem, or devote many hours of the day to religious duties of the organisation, as required by the zealous founder's prescription (1150), for the infidel had occupied the holy places, and the holy war, which sprang from Peter the Hermit, had been in vain.

Therefore the prior and general of the Order, the Grand Master William de Villaret, cast his covetous eyes on the island of Rhodes and its neighbours, and he was scheming to effect his purpose. In the midst of this plan death called him away, and his brother who succeeded him inherited his projects, and was now seeking an opportunity to carry them out.

Whilst subject to the influence of such motives, also to a certain uneasiness due to the growing estrangement then existing between the Order and the king of Cyprus, he suddenly met Vignolo, and the strange coincidence of this meeting offered him the greatly desired opportunity. A treaty was drawn up between them (May 27, 1306) under mutually advantageous conditions, by which Rhodes, with the exception of two of its villages, Cos and Leros, was ceded to the Knights.



KNIGHT IN ARMOUR



KNIGHT IN ORDINARY DRESS

One of these two villages and the islands of Cos and Leros, had been given to Vignolo by the emperor as fiefs.

The terms, moreover, guaranteed to Vignolo one-third of the revenue from such other islands as might be captured by them thereafter, as well as the title of Vicar of Cos and Leros, and of the islands thereafter to be annexed, in right of the Knights and in his own right. Furthermore, it was arranged that the convention was not to be put into action until the absolute conquest of Rhodes. It is noteworthy that this convention was witnessed by a partner of the great Bank of Peruzzi in Florence, a firm with which the Knights had large dealings later on, when they were fully established at Rhodes.

Fulk de Villaret was a determined and broad-minded man, but before coming to acts of violence against the Byzantine islands he tried to obtain moral and material support from the West, for which purpose he approached Pope Clement the Fifth at Poitiers, and explained the whole situation to him. The Pope cordially furthered the undertaking, giving to it a sacred character and inducing the king of France, Philip the Fair, to assist the movement, whilst himself granting funds for the purpose.

Thus equipped with all the essentials for a crusade, Fulk de Villaret sailed with a squadron from Brindisi in the early spring of 1308. On reaching Limassol, in Cyprus, he completed all his necessary preparations for the descent on Rhodes, and on June 22 he left Cyprus, accompanied by Vignolo, and steered for Makri, the ancient Telmissos of Lycia. Then, being near Rhodes, the Grand Master sent Vignolo there to reconnoitre, and at the same time he despatched envoys to the Emperor of Byzantium, Andronicos II., demanding the with-

drawal of the imperial garrisons and the granting of the island to the Order as a fief of the Empire. This proposal was accompanied by the offer of three hundred experienced Knights for leading the troops on the frontiers of the Empire, and an undertaking to clear out the pirates from Rhodes and the neighbouring islands. The emperor, unwilling to concede their demands and aware of the Latin aggressions, rejected the outrageous proposal with indignation, and decided to resist the pretensions of the Knights by sending a force to frustrate their plans.

Upon this, Villaret decided to proceed with his expedition, and sent forward two Genoese galleys, which had just arrived to share in the adventure, with orders to surprise the Byzantine garrison in the city of Rhodes. This attempt failed, and the Grand Master passed over to Rhodes with all his forces, and began the attack by land and sea.

The Byzantine garrison, aided by the Turks, offered a serious resistance, but the Knights, after three days' fighting, captured the ruined fortress of Pheraclos, on September 20. Shortly afterwards their attacks on the city were renewed, but proved futile, owing to the vigorous resistance of the Byzantines, who were assisted by the Rhodians.

The Knights thereupon summoned the remainder of their forces from Cyprus, and with this greatly increased power Phileremos was carried by assault, assisted by treachery, on November 9.

But notwithstanding the capture of this stronghold, the struggle still continued with great pertinacity, partly owing to the stout resistance of the Byzantines, the natural sympathy of the Greeks for the latter, and the support of the Turks, and partly to the intrigues of the

Venetian Duke of Crete, and the commander of the fleet of the Knights, Gabriel Dandolo, who, being a Venetian, tried to advance the interests of his countrymen by retarding the operations of the Knights in whose service he was acting.¹ At last, on August 5, nearly four years after the negotiations with Vignolo were concluded, the city of Rhodes fell to the Knights, and soon afterwards the whole island was in their hands.

But nearly all reports relating to this siege are contradictory, as also are the accounts as to the cause and time of the city's fall, there being two versions and two dates. The one version says that it was brought about by negotiations, on favourable terms conveyed by the captain of a Genoese ship which, coming as relief ship for the Byzantine garrison, had been captured by the Knights in the harbour of Famagusta.

The other, a more picturesque description, informs us that some of the Knights disguised themselves in sheepskins and, during a dark misty night, mixed with a flock of sheep—like the story of Ulysses and his companions with Polyphemos—and allowed themselves to be driven into the city.

Once within, they cast off their disguise, and with arms in their hands overcame all resistance till reinforcements arrived and crowned their stratagem with success. Holding to this version, and desiring to perpetuate the episode for posterity, the Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson directed the artist, Quintin Messis, to design an exquisite tapestry, which was carried out in Flanders at very great cost.

As regards the date of the fall of Rhodes to the Knights, one record states that it fell in 1309, and another that it occurred a year later. But the first

¹ Schlumberger, *Num.* p. 218.

date would seem to be the more probable, because we hear that Osman, one of the Moslem princes, who rose from the wreck of the Seljouks' Empire, came into conflict with the brotherhood of Knights, attacking them in Rhodes during the year 1310.¹

We must not forget that, at that time, Turkish princes who ruled on the Asia Minor coasts, and who were independent of the Sultanate started by Osman in the interior of Asia Minor (which Sultanate formed the embryo of the Ottoman Empire), were piratically raiding the Ægean Sea, devastating and depopulating the whole series of islands that stretch around that region, such as Samos, Chios, Carpathos, etc.

But since Finlay describes the coming of the Knights to Rhodes as a "successful piratical expedition" by which they filched Rhodes and some of her sister islands from the Greek Empire,² it would seem unreasonable to inveigh against these lawless Turkish incursions, though the words of the great historian emphasize the fact that "one man can steal a horse with more impunity than another man can look at it over the hedge."

¹ What we have written above seems likely to be the most historically correct version of the Knights' occupation of Rhodes. There is much conflicting evidence and scanty reliable testimony.

² *A Hist. of Greece*, Vol. I. p. 66.

CHAPTER VIII

THE KNIGHTS IN THE ISLANDS

The Order of the Knights and the first Grand Master at Rhodes (1310–1522). Thus the Knights were settled in Rhodes, and although they were aliens in the land, and left no deep impressions on the inhabitants, yet we shall attempt to describe their days in the history of Rhodes and of certain of the other islands of the Dodecanese, with which they were connected for nearly two centuries. With the view, however, of keeping the unity of the history of the whole Dodecanese we shall deal with events relating to the other islands, which happened, at the same time, to be under another rule.

During all this period the Knights, assisted by the islanders, constituted a solid Christian bulwark against the waves of Turkish power, which threatened to overwhelm south-eastern Christendom. Their long and stubborn resistance to this menace was more effective than that of the Latins in Cyprus or in Crete and the Duchy of the Archipelago. Finlay, writing about these protracted and powerful efforts, states that “they sustained the declining glory of a state of society that was hastening to become a vision of the past.”

Fulk de Villaret, evidently seeing that the Moslems would not leave the Knights in their new home, soon gave his attention to the reconstruction of the defences of the city of Rhodes (using much of the old material) and to the extension of the power of the Order to the neighbouring islands.

With this purpose in view, the Knights occupied the islands of Chalki, Symi, Telos, Nisyros and Megisti (Castellorizzo), and, four years later, Cos, Leros and Calymnos, and they exacted from the inhabitants a tribute called mortuary.

The Knights likewise took possession of Carpathos and Casos in 1313, thus disturbing the rule of Andrea Cornaro, who induced Venice to intervene, with the result that the Knights withdrew, leaving in 1315 the islands once more in the hands of Cornaro.

In the following year Nisyros was given by the Knights as fief to the brothers Bonavita Aschanti of Ischia.

Cos was the most important of the dependent islands, which now, under the Knights, once more played their ancient part as satellites of the larger island, sharing its splendour and its fate.

All these islands were also gradually fortified by the Knights, but notably Cos, where a castle flanked with four square towers was constructed.

It is necessary to remark that in this fortifying of the islands, as in similar construction at Halicarnassos, the Knights recklessly employed the ancient material of monuments and other sacred remains of antiquity.

Meanwhile, Fulk de Villaret did not forget the help of Vignolo in the taking over of Rhodes, for both Vignolo and his nephew, Andrea Moresco, were territorially benefited.

Astypalaia was reconquered by the gallant Byzantine admiral Licarios from the Querini in the year 1269, while Patmos remained under the protection of Venice, and the Knights did not take steps to possess them.

The Knights held all their dominions in the Ægean as vassals of the Pope, but in point of fact the adminis-

tration was in the hands of the Grand Master at Rhodes and of the Council, which was composed of the high officers of the Order.

The organisation of this Order was not the work of one day. Its development was the result of growth and change, due to circumstances and exigencies during the difficult and tortuous fortunes of the Order. From the beginning and during the subsequent years of the existence of the brotherhood, a crowd of young nobles of Christendom pressed forward to become members, at first to tend the sick and rescue Christian prisoners in Mussulman hands; but after the reorganisation of the Order by Raymond du Puy, they served as soldiers and drew the sword against the infidel in the Holy Land and elsewhere.

At a later period it was decreed that the habit of the Order should not be granted to anyone who had not attained the age of eighteen years. Only the Grand Master had the right to select eight children from any nationality, and of any rank, for his domestic service, if they were twelve years old or upwards.¹

The Knights being of various nationalities and speaking several languages, it became necessary to separate them according to their speech in divisions, which were known later as "tongues," such as tongue of France, tongue of England, etc. Each of these tongues had to guard one special section of the fortifications of the city of Rhodes.

The number of the tongues of the Order rose at one time from seven to eight, but by the schism of Henry VIII. the tongue of England was suppressed, and the number was brought down to its old figure of seven.

¹ Vertot, *Hist. des Cheval.* . . . , Vol. IV., *Anc. et Nouv. Stat.* pp. 77, 11.

However, these languages became somewhat intermixed in the Knights' Order, with the result that it is reported that no one spoke his language quite correctly.

The language spoken in Rhodes and the other islands was naturally Greek, but as the Order was mainly French, that language was largely spoken in the city.

When in civil dress the Knights wore black, with a white cross sewn on the left breast; when in armour they wore a red surcoat with a plain white cross on the breast and back. At the head of each tongue was a commander called later Pillar (in French *Pilier*).

The great assembly of the Order or General Chapter, which was called together at long intervals, and for very important decisions, was composed of all the Knights.

Some years after the Knights were settled at Rhodes, the island appears to have gained by their presence, because piracy, widely spread on sea and land, diminished, and commerce somewhat rapidly increased, and wealthy foreigners were attracted to reside there.

Moreover, the Knights themselves had become rich, not only on account of the many young noblemen who joined the Order after the success of the Grand Master Fulk de Villaret, but more particularly because of the taxes from the acquired islands, besides the good fortune which brought them considerable wealth in 1312 by the dissolution of the Order of Templars, a great portion of whose property was handed over to the Hospitallers by the Pope. But this wealth had its disadvantages, for it conduced to luxury and to laxity in discipline and morals amongst the young Knights. But we cannot do better than quote here the words of Baron de Belabre, consul of France.¹

¹ *Rhodes of the Knights*, p. 1.

“ After 1312 their character became transformed, and the members of the Order, who were supposed to look after the poor and to fight in defence of the Catholic faith, soon forgot their vows and lived in great luxury, dressing magnificently, eating rare food from gold and silver plate, and giving nothing to the poor. They kept the finest horses, hawks and packs of hounds. They led a dissolute life, and many of the Knights had also large private means.”

This state of the Order caused great sorrow and indignation amongst the old Knights who remembered the former discipline, but they saw no hope of improving the situation, as the Grand Master himself was reported to be leading a private life open to criticism, adopting an arrogant and despotic attitude, and scorning the opinions of others.

Thus about a century after Magna Charta had been extorted from King John of England at Runnymede, the Knights of St. John at Rhodes were struggling for their statutes and liberties. The condition of affairs, which nearly caused a schism in the Order, brought forward another Grand Master, Maurice de Pagnac, and an appeal to the Pope, John XXII., in 1317. The Pope listened to both the opponents at Rome, and attempted to conciliate them with much affability, though not quite successfully. But the death of the substitute Grand Master a year later (1318) left the field open once more to Fulk de Villaret.

However, the restoration of the Grand Master Fulk de Villaret did not make for peace, and the Pope accepted his resignation and summoned the General Chapter at Avignon, where Helion de Villeneuve, great Prior of St. Gilles, was elected Grand Master in 1319, owing to Papal influence. Thus the wise discretion of

the Pontifex Maximus saved the Order from disruption and, as Lacroix aptly puts it, "for the interests of the Knights and of Christianity."¹

Fulk de Villaret withdrew to his family château in Languedoc and died there in 1327. We do not know whether on his death-bed he could have uttered the words of the reforming Pope, Gregory VII., when dying at the grim castle of Salerno: "I have loved Justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile."²

Helion de Villeneuve (1319–1346). Helion de Villeneuve being, like his predecessor, a native of Provence, was duly elected as the second Grand Master of Rhodes and the twenty-fifth in the history of the Order, and his first act was to confirm Gerard de Pins in his lieutenancy of the island during his absence abroad.

About this time (1320) Rhodes was exposed to a great danger, because a large Turkish fleet had taken Telos and now attacked Rhodes for the purpose of capturing it and re-establishing the Saracens and the Turks who had been expelled by the Knights. The brave Gerard de Pins succeeded in repelling the attack and liberating Telos, where he seized many Turks, and killed those who were old, casting the young into slavery.

The Grand Master arrived in Rhodes in 1332, and showed great energy from the beginning of his rule. He reconstructed the bastions, re-modelled and increased the fleet, improved the discipline of the Order and the efficiency of the army. It was also under his rule that alliances were formed against the Turks and against piracy, and measures were taken for the benefit of the poor and for the relief of the country population, which so often suffered from the piratical raids. An existing

¹ *Îles de la Grèce*, p. 154.

² Barry, *Papal Monarchy*, p. 230.

evidence of his action against these sea-robbers are the ruins of the strong castle which stands near the great village of Villanova, so named after him.

The good work he did at Rhodes had its effect on the other islands of the Order, which derived much benefit from his strenuous efforts.

During the rule of this Grand Master, in the year 1333, Giovanni II. Quirini retook Astypalaia from the Byzantines, and divided his administration with Grimani, another Venetian family, which helped him in the undertaking. Both had recognised the Venetian protectorate. There are some writers who give the date 1310 for this incident.

But in the year 1341 this island, which had continued to be under the sway of Quirini and Grimani, the protégés of Venice, was attacked, captured, and entirely devastated by the great raid of the Emir of Aidin Omarbeg Morbassan, and its ruin was so complete that for some score of years it was deserted.

It was also during the rule of this Grand Master, and about the year 1342, that the wonderful legend of Dieudonné de Gozon's duel with the dragon of Rhodes arose. This terrific and mortal combat appears in all histories relating to this island at that period, and the most extraordinary and various descriptions have been published.

From all these stories, we glean that the so-called dragon lived in a cavern near Phileremos and destroyed much life, so that the road near his den was called Maupas (evil way).

The Father A. de Naberat has left us a graphic description of this mysterious and repellent monster. Writing in old French, he says :—¹

¹ *Histoire des chevaliers de l'ordre de St. Jean de Hierusalem*, p. 67.

“ At that time there was in the island of Rhodes a great dragon in a cavern, where it infected the air with its odour, and killed men and beasts that it met; and all members of the religious calling, and all subjects were forbidden to pass that way, which was named ‘Maupas.’ The dragon was said to be of the size of a moderate horse; it had the head of a serpent, the ears of a mule, covered with hard and scaly skin, very sharp teeth, and a thick throat, its hollow eyes giving forth flame like a fire, with a frightful look; four legs like a crocodile, the claws being hard and pointed; on the back two little wings, which had above the colour of a dolphin and below were yellow and green, as was the belly, and the tail was like that of a lizard. It ran as fast as a good horse, beating with its wings, and making a horrible hissing.”

Dieudonné, who was a knight of the Order of St. John, decided to kill this monster, and wishing to form an idea of its nature, he approached several times to the den where it was concealed, and there discovered that the abdomen of the creature was without scales. Upon this he asked the permission of the Grand Master to attack the animal, but his application was refused. He therefore left for France, where his elder brother had a château in Languedoc (of Gascony).

There he had a counterfeit made of this monster which he accustomed his horse and his dogs to confront.

His preparations ended, he sailed back to Rhodes with his horse and dogs and two domestics. But as the Grand Master still rejected his appeal, he decided to act secretly and ordered his armour to be taken to the church of St. Etienne, and after having attended Mass, he directed his servitors to be present at the scene of the duel. Mounting his steed, he advanced to the cavern, and hurled himself on the monster, which

came forth to meet him. But at the first concussion his lance broke, and he fell heavily to the ground, where he would certainly have perished had not the trained dogs rushed to his assistance. One of them bit the monster savagely in the belly, whilst Dieudonné drew his sword and plunged it up to the hilt in the animal's side; and in its dying struggle it rolled over the knight and nearly smothered him. At this crisis the servitors arrived, and released him from his precarious situation. After looking at the dead dragon he ascended his horse, and carrying away the remains of the fallen creature, he entered Rhodes triumphantly.

However pleased the Grand Master may have been at the news, he did not approve the breach of discipline on the part of Dieudonné, and therefore the latter temporarily lost his dignity in the Order and was cast into prison.

This episode reminds us of the earlier slaying of a dragon with many huge serpents by Phorbas in the same island; and as we read that a certain Turkish tradition tells how a holy Dervish killed a dragon which was also hidden in a den and devastating the Rhodian land, and as we also know that the island was once called Ophiussa on account of the presence there of many serpents at all periods—either “by punishment of heaven, or by natural causes,” as Dapper says¹—we must conclude that Rhodes cannot be disembarrassed of a periodical dragon devouring both animals and men and creating a perennial hero to slay it.²

¹ *Descript. des îles*, p. 98.

² F. W. Hasluck in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. XX. Session 1913–14, pp. 70–79, writing about Dieudonné de Gozon and the dragon of Rhodes, states that the origin of the story of the slaying of the monster of Malpasso by this knight may have arisen in his native land and been carried from France to Rhodes.

For further accounts of legends of this kind see Frazer's note on Pausanias

Having read all the writings that have been preserved on the subject of this dragon, and seeing the earnestness of the writers who have devoted their thoughts to it, we find that it was of a very ancient origin, and had a fine constitution dating from antediluvian times. The creature, forsaken or overlooked when Noah stocked the Ark with animals, took to swimming on the wilderness of waters, and from thence espying the heights of Atabyros protruding above the surface, landed there, made it its residence, and having unprecedented longevity in its nature, survived through centuries to perish at the hands of Dieudonné de Gozon.

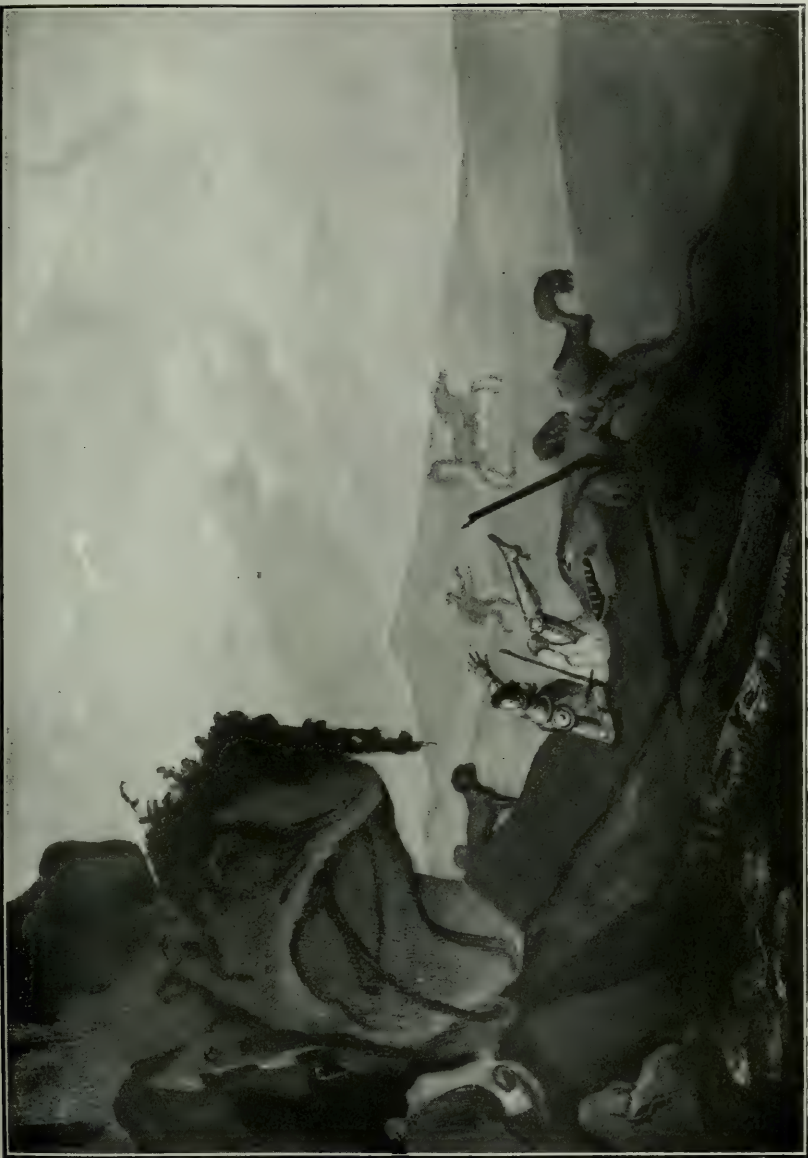
Whilst considering this subject we find it hard to determine whether another enormous serpent about which Buondelmonti writes,¹ associating it with the city of Kephalos in Cos, and attributing to it also great antiquity, may not have been the same. The reader must judge for himself as regards the probabilities of the case. We lay before him what that writer with all seriousness states :—

“ In that locality there appeared a few years ago, as I have learnt, an enormous serpent, which devastated everything; it did not attack only animals, but men also. All fled before him horrified. Nevertheless a courageous young man dared, for the salvation of the people, to engage in combat with the monster. When, armed and on a horse, he hurled himself against the serpent, the latter seized the horse between its teeth and stretched it

IX. 26, 27, and Polites, *Παραδόσεις* (375, 381, 383), as well as others reported by the same Hasluck.

Rottiers also claims that he had discovered a fresco at Rhodes depicting the combat of Dieudonné de Gozon with the great dragon, and we reproduce the illustration he had published in his book (*Monuments de Rhodes*, pp. 239 f., Pl. XXVIII.). Hasluck likewise published another picture of the dragon in the above-named annual (Pl. IX.).

¹ *Lib. insul.* § 45, p. 103.



THE FIGHT BETWEEN GOZON AND THE DRAGON AT RHODES

dead on the soil; but, though deprived of his mount, the young man fought valiantly for some time and ended in killing the creature."

The similarity of the episodes is evident. Is there any confusion in regard to the personalities and the localities?

De Villeneuve died at eighty years of age in the year 1346, and was, according to Naberat, "rightly called the happy governor."¹

Dieudonné de Gozon (1346–1353), who was of the tongue of Provence, was famous for the legendary destruction of the notorious dragon and for his strength of character as a man and a ruler. During his Grand Mastership he did his utmost to form alliances against the advance of the Turk, and it was during his rule that John de Biandra, in command of the fleet of the allies of the Knights, near Imbros, burnt the Turkish fleet and made 5,000 prisoners.

While this Grand Master was in authority, during the year 1340, Ligorio Assanti, one of the lords of Nisyros, armed a galley and, enlisting some of the islanders of these regions, became a pirate and seized several trading ships, amongst which were some from Cyprus. This caused trouble between the knights and the king of Cyprus, Hugues IV., who protested. The Grand Master, in order to give satisfaction, vindicated justice by condemning his vassal and obliging the lords of Nisyros henceforth to keep a galley in the service of the Order.

Under the same Grand Master, in the year 1352, the mortuary tribute in Symi was cancelled and was replaced by another annual payment of 500 aspres, and

¹ Lacroix, *Îles de la Grèce*, p. 67.

all the goods of the monks after their death were to belong to the Hospitallers.

Pierre de Corneillan (1353–1355). He was also from Provence, and only survived his election to the dignity about one year and six months. His short rule is memorable for the immediate efforts he made to reform the Order, which had again fallen into a state of relaxed discipline; at the same time the advance of the Turk into Europe threw discredit on the Order and drew the severe censure of the Pope, who commanded that the Knights should leave Rhodes and settle themselves in the midst of the Turkish territory.

Finding this command of Innocent VI. very irksome, the Grand Master wrote a diplomatic letter to the Pope, saying that he would lay it before a Chapter General which he would summon. But worn out with worries and sadness he passed away.

Roger de Pins (1355–1365). After Corneillan, Roger de Pins, of the tongue of Provence, became Grand Master.

The sudden death of Corneillan left all his troubles as a legacy to his successor, who did his best to represent to the Pope how much more convenient the Morea would be as a seat of the Knights than Palestine, which was now full of Moslems. The Pope sympathised with the proposal of the Grand Master, but he desired a general assembly to be held at Avignon, “the gilded prison” of the Popes. This assembly gathered, but on account of the numerous obstacles met with during debates, the Knights remained in the island of Rhodes. In addition to some successful alliances, and successes against the Moslems, the rule of this Grand Master was characterised by widespread charities and improved administration for the islanders in general, so that he was much mourned at his death.



Ullastuck.

THE DRAGON OF RHODES

Raymond de Berenger (1365–1374). Raymond de Berenger, of the tongue of Provence, succeeded Roger de Pins. Uniting his efforts with those of the king of Cyprus to suppress piracy, which had again assumed large proportions, he attacked Alexandria in 1365. This city, which served as a base of operations for the corsairs, was taken by surprise, and the ships of the corsairs were burnt, whilst the city itself was sacked by the allies in a frightful way, so that the very name of Christian was a horror throughout the land. Amongst the Christians imprisoned in Alexandria who were freed, was the nephew of Pope Urban V., and his delivery by the Grand Master brought the latter much Papal favour. Two years later, the allies, strengthened by Genoese support, attacked Syria with success.

On hearing this the Turkish Sultan, Murad I., was greatly infuriated and swore that he would attack Rhodes; but neither did the Sultan fulfil his oath nor the Grand Master realise his expectations from the commanders of the Knights in Europe, with regard to supplies against the impending menace.

We find that in the year 1366 the administration of the islands Chalki and Telos was placed in the hands of the Rhodian noble Barello Assanti, they being farmed out to him on condition that he would pay 200 golden florins annually. This state of things existed in these islands down to the year 1373, when they became, like Symi, magisterial dominions, and their revenues were assigned to the Grand Master. Symi is reported to have been during these years a prosperous centre of commerce and shipping.

This Grand Master is known in the history of the Order for the following decree :—

“To prevent the brothers of our Order from neglecting the observation of the rule and statutes, we order and declare, that what is contained in the rule is equally necessary to the soul as to the body.”¹

Robert de Juillac (1374–1377), of the tongue of France, was chosen by the council of Rhodes as successor of Raymond de Berenger. He was a man of strong character, and during his short rule succeeded in restoring discipline in the brotherhood, and to a certain extent in regulating its bad finances.

Juan de Heredia (1377–1396). After the death of Robert de Juillac, Juan de Heredia, of the tongue of Arragon, took his place. Judging from his past life, this man was more soldier and diplomatist than priest, and as instances of this we may name his diplomatic mission from the Pope to reconcile the king of England, Edward III., and the French king, Philip the Fair, and the rescue by him of the unhorsed French sovereign on the field of Crécy (1346). Owing to the schism in the Catholic Church (1378), two Popes, Clement VII. and Urban VI., disputed the pontifical position, and the consequence was that an opponent to Heredia was elected Grand Master. His name was Richard Carracciolo, but Heredia succeeded in overcoming him and bringing his supporters to obedience. Heredia, whose whole life is instructive, bellicose and adventurous, never came to Rhodes, and he died at Avignon in 1396. Castellorizzo, the ancient Megiste, is said to derive its name from the red castle (castel rosso) which he caused to be raised there.

In the year 1385, the family of Assanti having died out, the island of Nisyros reverted into the full control of the Knights.

¹ Vertot, *Hist des Cheval.* . . . , Vol. IV., *Anc. et Nouv. Stat.* p. 71.

Six years later, the islands of Calymnos and Leros were placed under the administration of the Governor of Cos, Brother Peter Schlegelhold, who on account of the extension of his jurisdiction undertook certain obligations which bound him to the authority of the Grand Master. This situation remained unaltered until the death of this man.

Philibert de Naillac (1396–1421), who was of the tongue of France, came to the Grand Mastership in 1396, and his rule was unusually long, for it lasted twenty-five years, and was accompanied by noteworthy incidents. At first the order was united, then the Grand Master joined with the Byzantine Empire and other Christian states against Bayazid. Subsequently he put Smyrna, occupied by the Knights, into a condition of defence against the celebrated conqueror, Timour or Tamerlane, and when it fell he occupied Halicarnassos and fortified it against the Turk. He also confirmed a treaty which had been negotiated between the Order and the Sultan of Egypt, for maintaining peace and extending commerce (1403), and latterly he had turned Rhodes into an asylum for all the victims of the advancing Moslem.

During the rule of this Grand Master, Giovanni IV Quirini of Stampalia, being appointed by Venice as Governor of the islands of Tenos and Myconos in the Greek Archipelago, had attempted to re-people Astypalaia, which had never recovered from the shock of the Turkish devastation seventy-two years before, and which now belonged to him. For this purpose he brought thither settlers from these two islands. The colonisation of Astypalaia was begun on the 30th of March, 1413,¹ and great expectations were aroused

in the *Ægean* Sea. Giovanni Quirini at the same time rebuilt the castle of this island and took, so we learn from an inscription dated that year and engraved on the chapel of his stronghold, the title of Count of Astynea, thus showing that Astypalaia (old city) was reconstructed into a new city, which the Greek term *Astynea* means. But this attempt was frustrated by Venice, which compelled him to bring back all the colonists settled there to their previous islands that were under its sway, and further to avoid going more than twenty-five miles from his official seat.

Antonio Fluviano (1421–1437). This man was of Catalonian origin, and was unanimously elected to succeed his venerable and much mourned predecessor. The times during which he was called to rule were very threatening. The Turks, who had escaped the danger of being overwhelmed by Tamerlane, were advancing on Europe, and sending sundry fleets to the archipelago, whilst Cherefeddin, the Soudan of Egypt, had invaded Cyprus, which necessitated the intervention of the Knights, but this increased his hatred against the Order, and made him decide at a proper moment to descend on Rhodes.

These menaces roused the Grand Master to take action in regard to extraordinary armaments and general preparations for defence.

All these conditions, besides others which we need not describe here, had exhausted the treasury of the Knights, and obliged the Grand Master to call together a Chapter General at Rhodes (May 10, 1428). It was decreed by this assembly that the island of Nisyros should be given to the second son of the count of Astynea (Astypalaia), Giovanni IV Quirini, who, under the name of Fantino, had entered the Order and was now

prior of Rome. He, as governor of Nisyros, had taken over the obligation to pay an annual rental of 600 golden florins, and to maintain at his own expense a sufficient garrison for the five fortresses of the island. A little later the same person was appointed as bailiff of Cos and its neighbouring islands of Calymnos and Leros, and he at last became great admiral of the Order.

Fluviano enlarged the Jewish quarter at Rhodes, and also lavishly contributed from his own pocket towards the construction of a very fine convent, but his death occurred on the 26th of October, 1437, before it was completed.

Jean Bonpar de Lastic (1437–1454). He belonged to the tongue of Auvergne, and was elected on the 29th of October, 1437, by the Council of Rhodes, to replace the deceased *Antonio Fluviano*. Lastic hastened from France to Rhodes because the alarming news of a meditated Egyptian attack had reached him, and the cryptic attitude of the Turkish Sultan, Murad II., involved great dangers. Lastic greatly strengthened the fortifications of the islands of the Order, though still treating with Murad and Djemaleddin, the Soudan of Egypt. The latter did not keep the treaty which had been re-confirmed, and sent a fleet which first took the little island of Castellorizzo, and then appeared in September 1440 before Rhodes.¹ The Egyptians, unable to land, owing to the vigilance of the armed Rhodians and Knights, cast anchor off the city, but being attacked by a Rhodian fleet they retired at dusk towards Cos, hoping to capture that island by surprise. But the grand-admiral of the Knights, foreseeing their motive,

¹ A. de Naberat, *Histoire des chevaliers*, p. 99 f.; *Sommaire des privilèges*, p. 227.

arrived first with his fleet and frustrated their plan, and after an undecided naval engagement near the mainland, the Egyptians sailed away to Cyprus, from which, after ravaging the properties of the Knights, they returned to Egypt.

Four years later (1444) a larger Egyptian fleet disembarked a considerable army at Rhodes and besieged the town by sea and land unsuccessfully for about forty days. After a vigorous counter-attack by the garrison, the Egyptians withdrew to their ships in haste, abandoning their munitions and provisions, and leaving many dead behind them.

This victory aroused great enthusiasm in Christendom, increased the number of Knights, and brought peace to Rhodes for some years.

In 1453 an event appalling to Christendom happened, when Mohammed II. conquered Constantinople and began his wholesale invasion of hitherto free Christian territories. Shortly afterwards he sent a message to the Grand Master of Rhodes demanding tribute and homage. "God forbid," answered Lastic, "that I should leave my Order, which I found free and glorious, as a vassal and slave. If the Sultan wishes to conquer Rhodes, he must first pass over my dead body and those of my Knights."

The result was that the Sultan set about his preparations for an attack, and the appeal of the Grand Master to the European princes for help received no response, because, as usual, they were not united. But Lastic again placed Rhodes and the other islands in a state of defence. He also cast the admiral Fantino Quirini into prison at Rhodes (1453) because the islanders under his government had mutinied against his oppressive methods of administration. This Grand



[Flamini.]

THE PALACE OF THE GRAND MASTER IN RHODES

(From an old picture)

This building has now only one floor, and is used by the Italians, as before by the Turks, as a prison

Master died on the 19th of May, 1454, happy in that he had done his duty.

Jacques de Milly (1454–1461). He was of the tongue of Auvergne, and no sooner was he elected than he appeared at Rhodes, where the fleet of Mohammed II. was daily expected, and already a Turkish squadron had attacked Cos and even raided Rhodes. Therefore the Grand Master joined the league which had been formed by the Pope Calixtus III. to resist the Ottoman danger, and the damage inflicted on the Turkish coasts and shipping by the Knights was so large that it infuriated the Sultan to vengeance. Hence, in 1455, he sent Hamzabeg with 180 ships to the archipelago, where he unsuccessfully attacked Cos and Symi and proceeded to Rhodes. Here the Turkish admiral threw some detachments on shore, which sacked Archangelos, ruined the surrounding country, carried off some of the inhabitants, and committed similar depredations in Nisyros, Cos, Leros and Calymnos, all belonging to the Knights.

These various and destructive attacks obliged the Knights to take serious precautions for the defence of the islands; they thereupon took back Cos, Leros and Calymnos, which had been temporarily in the hands of Jean de Chateauneuf, and who declared that he was unequal to the task of defending them. During this fortifying of the islands Symi also was not forgotten by Milly, because its fortress was thoroughly repaired, as the arms of this Grand Master, still existing in the castle of the island, prove. A further strengthening of the defences of the castle took place in 1507.

Milly was also distinguished as a diplomatist; examples of his ability in this direction are found in his successful policy towards Venice and Egypt, with which countries he avoided a very threatening war and

a consequent devastation of the islands of the Order; and also in regard to the dissensions which appeared between the tongues, and which were only appeased by his good humour and tact.

He died on the 17th of August, 1461, carrying with him the good fame of having held back the external enemies, and having restored complete concord in the Order and general security in its dominions.

Pierre Raymond Zacosta (1461–1467). He was of the tongue of Arragon, and took the dignity of Grand Master by election in 1461. The first step which he took for uprooting the dissensions which reappeared in the Order after Milly's death was to create another tongue, that of *Castile* (1462), and thus eight tongues were recognised in the brotherhood.

The Grand Master, wishing also to increase the power of the Knights in the islands, turned his next efforts as administrator to reform the deplorable financial position of the Order, to permit the Greeks of the islands to enter into their administration, to appoint as governors persons of experience and knowledge, and to prepare for the approaching attack of Mohammed II., who, notwithstanding pretensions of friendship, was known to be preparing for an attack on the Knights. Amongst the vast fortifications which Zacosta raised at Rhodes was the famous fort of St. Nicolas, the lighthouse of to-day. Zacosta likewise gave still more attention to the defences of Cos, which was placed under his immediate direction, and he established a subordinate governor there for local administration.

He died at Rome in 1467, after a successful exculpation before the Pope from charges brought against him by malignant enemies.

Giovanni Baptista Orsini (1467–1476). He was of

the tongue of Italy, and was elected at Rome in 1467 as Grand Master, and on the eve of a visibly imminent crisis he went with great speed to Rhodes. With a view to facing the danger he felt it necessary to surround himself with the ablest men, and therefore Pierre d'Aubusson, a brave warrior and an excellent engineer, was named superintendent of the defences of Rhodes.

The news soon reached Rhodes that a Turkish fleet had already left Constantinople with the express purpose of carrying fire and sword through all the islands of the Order, and Rhodes in particular. The Turks who landed in the latter were, by a good strategic move on the part of the Grand Master, killed or taken prisoners.

This mishap greatly enraged the Sultan, and he decided to make an end of all Christians both in the East and in the West. This menace did not frighten the Hospitallers, who continued their preparations in alliance with their friends the Venetians, and their attacks against the Turkish coasts and forces met with some success.

Great praise is given to Aubusson in regard to the construction of the fortifications of the city of Rhodes. He seems to have thrown all his genius into the erection of these works, and their remains, little impaired, testify to-day to the immensity of the undertaking.

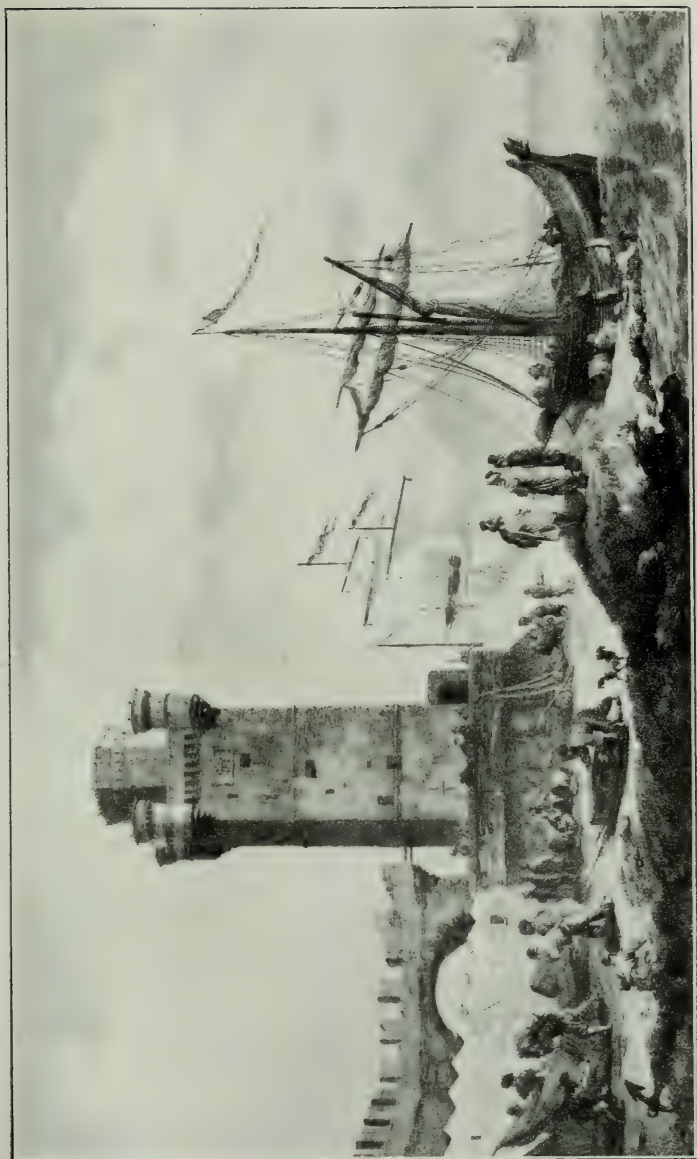
A census was taken of all Rhodians capable of carrying arms, and the treasury of the Cathedral of St. John was commandeered to defray the current expenses, as was done by Heracleios in Constantinople in earlier times against the Persian King Chosroes. Before the coming of his great enemy Orsini died on the 8th of June, 1476.

Pierre d'Aubusson (1476–1505). It has been well said that d'Aubusson was Grand Master long before he

was elected in 1476. He belonged to the tongue of Auvergne, and all felt that he was the only man who could turn aside the immediate danger of the Mussulman advance. His prudence and bravery drew from Charles VII. of France the expression: "I have never seen such a union of so much fire and so much wisdom."

When he took over the very high and responsible position allotted to him, he made the final preparations for defending Rhodes and the neighbouring islands against the forthcoming onslaught of the Turks. He also had good success diplomatically by gaining the friendship of Venice, the Soudan of Egypt, the king of Tunis, and the material assistance of the king of France, Louis XI. He likewise obtained the enlistment of many noble volunteers, and still more, he was able to delay the Turkish attack for about four years.

First siege of Rhodes by the Turks. Mohammed determined to capture Rhodes, and sent a great fleet of 190 ships for the purpose under Messih. This Pasha arrived at Rhodes on the 4th of December, 1479, with the vanguard, and disembarked the first detachments in the village of Fanes at a distance from the city; but being surprised by the defenders, a considerable number of his men were killed, the remainder returning to the ships. Messih, alarmed, turned his attention to Telos, which he thought to capture with his forces. Here again the courage of the defenders foiled his efforts, and forced him to desist, and go to Phoinica in Lycia, where the rest of the Ottoman fleet was concentrated for the transport of an army of 70,000 (or 100,000) Turks, destined for the siege of Rhodes. The armada, accompanied by many transports, appeared before Rhodes on the 23rd of May, 1480, and without resistance began to land forces at Trianda which took posses-



[Choiseul-Gouffier.

VIEW OF ST. NICHOLAS TOWER IN RHODES

(From an old picture)

Built by Zacosta (1464-67) and renovated by D'Aubusson. Now used as a lighthouse

sion of the Hill of St. Etienne, to the west of the town, spreading out their wings, the one N.E. and the other in a southerly direction. Thus the town was gradually enclosed on the land side and blockaded by sea.

The hostilities commenced, the bombardment being principally directed against the Fort of St. Nicolas, and the city shook under the vibration of the concussions. But though this attack was helped by the fire of some Turkish ships and the assault of many soldiers, their united efforts made little impression on the fort, because of the tenacity and courage of the Grand Master and his followers.

The Turks, after many losses and ineffectual bombardments, ceased the attack on St. Nicolas and directed their heavy fire against the Jewish quarter which stood on the S.E. corner of the city, and the bastions of Italy and England, with the intention of battering a breach and forcing a large army through it into the city. For a moment, after 3,500 cannon-balls had been hurled, the Turkish success seemed hopeful. The walls of the Jewish quarter were breached, but the resourcefulness of Aubusson and the rapid activity of the Greek population, without distinction of age or sex, enabled them to construct an inner wall and a dyke which prevented the Turks from entering the city.

The Pasha decided again to attack the Fort of St. Nicolas, but this second attack was made by sea and land and began at midnight of the 19th of June. The darkness of the night was rendered horrible by the cries of war, the thunder of the guns, the crashing of the masonry, the flaming arrows, like stars falling on the city, the fireships adding their lurid flames to the terrifying scene. This hellish strife continued until the light of early dawn streaked the heavens, and in fact

until ten in the morning. The Turks, foiled and beaten, recoiled from the fray, leaving on the battlefield many men and officers strewn about in grim death, besides having lost ships, a floating bridge and many seamen.

Messih decided to give up the attack on the Fort of St. Nicolas and assailed once more the Jewish quarter and the bastion of Italy, at the same time bombarding other parts of the walls and the inhabited part of the city, and hurling firebrands to set the town ablaze. But these Turkish efforts were not so destructive as had been intended, because the women and the children had been already placed under shelter to a large degree, and the men were able to find protection in many places whilst on duty.

The Turkish commander, recognising the difficulty of storming the place, adopted the method of diplomacy, and tried to separate the civil population from the Knights by advantageous offers as well as by threats of destruction, both of which efforts were fruitless. The Greeks preferred the ills they knew to those they knew not of. This attitude of the islanders and their courage united the Knights more with them than before, and members of the city people were invited to join in the councils of war.

It was now that Messih Pasha resolved on a general attack on the city, promising his troops wholesale pillage with the view to exciting their cupidity and impetuosity. Besides the necessary preparations for the assault, including covered trenches for approaching the fortifications, the Turks carried sacks for their plunder, ropes for binding the girls and boys, and 8,000 sharp stakes to impale the Grand Master, the Knights and the combatants. The attack began on the 28th of July after

the sound of a cannon as signal. The Turks advanced with an irresistible fury against the walls, and already the standard of Messih was hoisted on the ramparts of the Jewish quarter and on the Tower of Italy, and there was every appearance that the city would fall, when a Turkish voice resounded, saying that no pillage was permitted and that the treasures of the Order belonged to the Sultan. This happily inappropriate command dulled the Turkish enthusiasm and paralysed the advance. The defenders, observing this hesitation, made a counter-attack with the greatest vigour both in front and flank. The Turks, recoiling from this furious assault, roused the anger of Messih, who hurled them back again on to the bastions, heavily reinforced by immense masses of fresh troops, accompanied with promises of lavish recompense if the city fell. And now the hideous carnage began again. Casks of pitch and sulphur, and sacks filled with explosives, were cast by the besieged on the heads of the assailants, who, to use the words of a writer, "looked like unchained lions, let loose on their prey."

Again and again the Moslem hosts rushed *en masse* through the breach of the mighty fortress, and the defenders at one moment appeared to bend under the pressure, but Aubusson, standing at their head, exclaimed, "Let us rather die here for the Faith than give way!" Reanimated by these virile words, they repelled the oncoming tide of Moslems and strewed the ditch and ramparts with their dead and dying, forcing them to withdraw at speed and in panic to their own camp.

Messih Pasha, after a siege of three months, during which he had 9,000 killed and 15,000 wounded, gave up all hope of capturing the town, withdrew his shattered troops on August 13, 1480, and left the island after

devastating the country and carrying off flocks of sheep.

The historians are united in their praise of the attitude of the Greeks, both in Rhodes and also of those who, having been conquered, were, in various ways, connected with the Turkish army. We saw the deeds of the first; of the latter, we hear that they were still animated by the love of Hellenism and Christianity and contributed in some respects towards the success of the defence. This was more particularly in conveyance of vital information by letters attached to arrows and shot into the city, which gave news of impending attacks or forthcoming bombardments of certain localities.

The Grand Master, greatly pleased with the attitude of the Knights and the Rhodians in the strong assistance they gave to his support, remunerated them in divers ways, which much rejoiced the recipients. He also, within a short time, began to repair the badly damaged walls of Rhodes.

The news of the victory pleased the Pope, Innocent VIII., who sent his congratulations and blessings, and conferred on Aubusson the hat of a Cardinal. It pleased also the king of France, Louis XI., who congratulated him for his feat of arms; but it pleased Mohammed II. less, who declared that next time he would take command of his army in person. However, he died in 1481, which put an end to his worldly exploits, immortalised on his tomb by a self-prepared epitaph, and gave a long respite to Rhodes and to the other islands.

The Latin Archbishop of Rhodes, Marcus Montanus, referring to the great earthquake which occurred on the day of the Sultan's death, wrote with great suggestiveness and lucidity, alleging that the earthquake on that particular day must have been caused by the violent

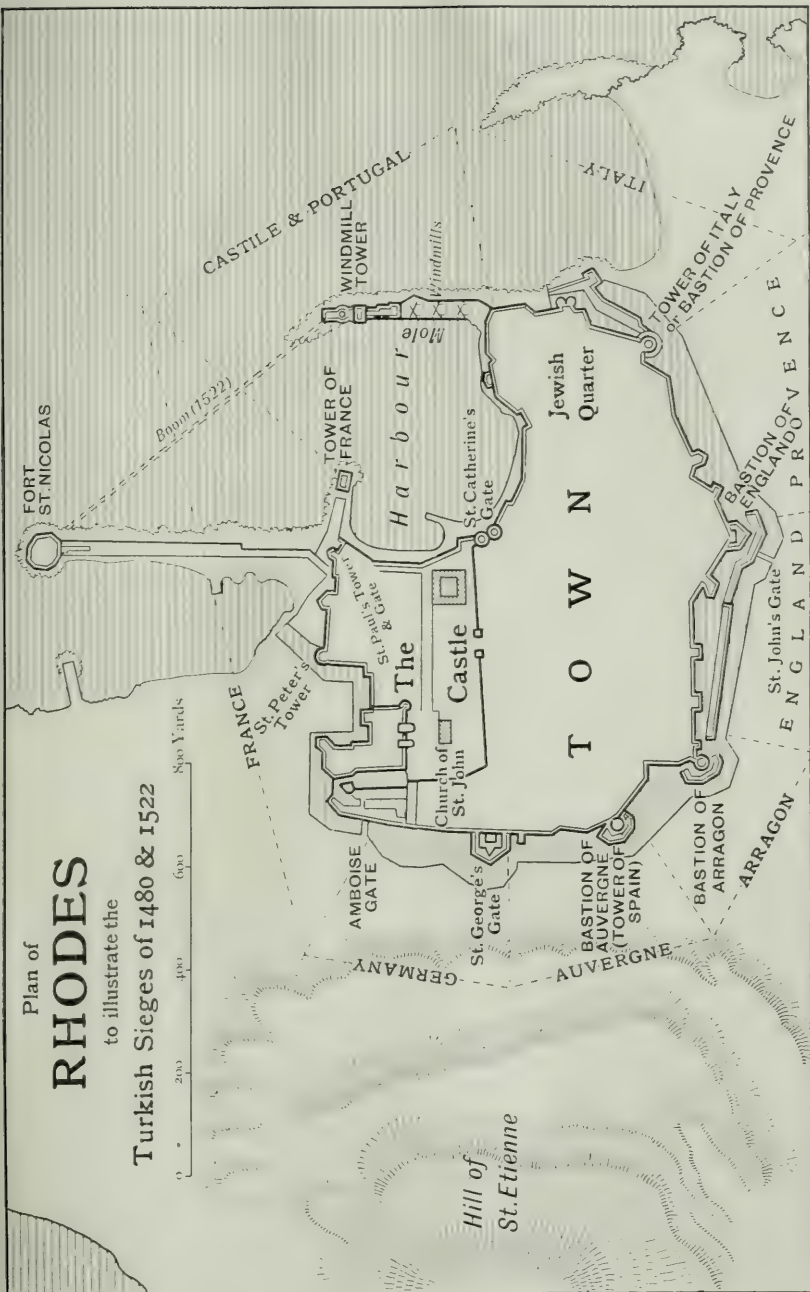
Plan of

RHODES

to illustrate the

Turkish Sieges of 1480 & 1522

0 200 400 600 800 Yards



descent of the Sultan's soul tumbling into the nethermost hell.

The large-hearted and highly gifted Frenchman who had so ably directed the defence of Rhodes soon showed that his interests were not confined to the sword, but also extended to the welfare of the people under his jurisdiction.

Thus when in 1492 an earthquake disturbed the island of Cos, he helped the survivors with food and other necessities, mostly from his own personal resources, and rebuilt the fortresses. The same disaster befell Leros and Calymnos three years later. Aubusson also, wishing to repress irregularities and indiscipline in the Order, laid down the law that the Grand Master in union with the Council should decide the elections of priors, bailiffs, etc.¹

Aubusson died on the 3rd of July, 1505,² and no Grand Master was more lamented than he, and on his magnificent bronze tomb he was described in Latin words as "Liberator of the city" and "Founder of Peace."

Emery d'Amboise (1505–1512) was of the tongue of France, and sixty-nine years old when he was called to replace Aubusson.

On taking power it was evident that a war with Bayazid was imminent. The fact that Aubusson was dead encouraged the successor of Mohammed II. to further ventures. After a preliminary attempt, Kemal was sent by him in 1505 with a fleet and some thousands of soldiers to make a descent on Rhodes. But this expedition failed at that island, and some losses were incurred. Kemal, in his retreat, attacked Symi, Telos,

¹ Vertot, *Hist. des Cheval.* . . . , Vol. IV., *Anc. et Nouv. Stat. de l'Ordre*, p. 177.

² Others date it 1503. See Biliotti and Cottret, *l'Île de Rhod.*, pp. 272 f.

Nisyros and Cos, but he was everywhere repulsed. After that he proceeded to Leros, where he thought that he would meet no resistance. But a single knight in this island disguised some of the islanders, even women, in the garb of the Knights and placed them on the ramparts of the weak fort. Kemal receiving a volley of shot, and thinking he saw a large force of Knights, left Leros rapidly, to the great merriment of its people.

However, Bayazid did not drop the idea of taking Rhodes. Therefore when the Egyptians suffered some reverses on sea at the hands of the Order, he was pleased to accept an alliance offered to him by the Soudan of Egypt, in the hope of tackling the Knights. This alliance alarmed the Grand Master, who saw that its object was directed against Rhodes. To meet this danger, he was looking round to get the necessary forces, when he died on the 13th of November, 1512, leaving no worldly fortune, but also no poor in the dominions of the Order.

Guy de Blanchefort (1512–1513), who belonged to the tongue of Auvergne, became Grand Master in 1512, but he fell ill at the very time when he was elected. Knowing that he was needed at Rhodes, he left France with great determination, but met with very rough weather at sea, and becoming worse, he died in the waters of Zante on the 24th of November, 1513, nearly a year after his election.

Fabricio del Caretto (1513–1521). The news of the death of Blanchefort only reached Rhodes on the 13th of December. The Chapter met the next day, and on the 15th proclaimed Fabricio del Caretto, of the tongue of Italy, and then Grand Admiral, as Grand Master. In view of the visible intention of the new Sultan, Selim I. (1512), of capturing Rhodes, he considered that he should devote himself largely to making due preparations for



[Choiseul-Gouffier.

THE SO-CALLED STREET OF THE KNIGHTS, LEADING FROM THE PALACE OF THE
GRAND MASTER TO THE HARBOUR AND THE CITY

the expected attack. The bastion of Italy particularly attracted his attention, and, notwithstanding the late reparations, he reconstructed it completely, as its arms denote.

For the carrying out of this work, the Grand Master had the advice of the famous engineer, Basilio dalla Scuola, who was in the service of Maximilian, the Austrian Emperor. As Baron de Belabre writes :—

“ It was he who had all the towers and bastions cut down to the height of the walls; the usual modification when old fortifications were adapted to receive artillery. In many parts they were reduced to a level with the ‘ glacis.’ The old walls are easily recognised, in that they are without batter, and the merlons are swallow-tailed in form. The new walls batter at the base, have the customary cordon, and their merlons and embrasures are rectangular. The rampart walk, or boulevard, is as wide as eighty feet for half the way round the town. Round the other half, that is along the walls of France and Castille, there is only a narrow allure protected by a six-foot parapet, in which are, in some parts, curiously shaped loop-holes in the form of an elongated cross with a circular opening at the point of section.”¹

The Grand Master, knowing also how alliances strengthen the position of a threatened state, cordially accepted the overtures of the king of Persia, as also those of the Soudan of Egypt.

Selim I., having conquered Egypt (1517), and recognising the geographical value of Rhodes as a central spot between Egypt and Constantinople, was the more determined to carry his purpose into effect and take into his hands the group of islands which were in the posses-

¹ *Rhod. of the Knights*, pp. 39–40.

sion of the Knights. On the death of this Sultan this plan devolved upon his son Suleiman, as also the duty of capturing Belgrade.

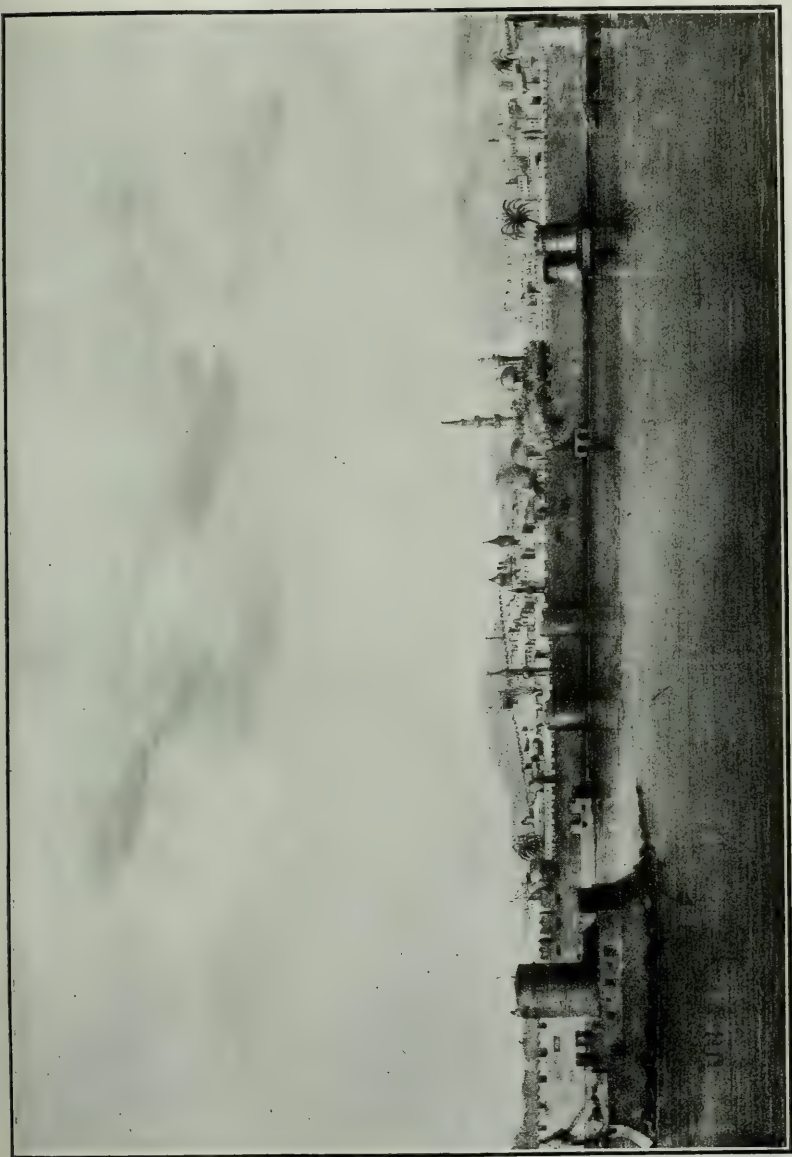
Caretto, fully realising the magnitude of the impending attack, took advantage of a rebellion in Syria to give it help, which increased the irritation of the Ottoman Sultan and provoked him to order very great war preparations against the obstinate enemy. The Grand Master likewise put forth his energy and sought assistance from the Pope and the king of France, François I., who had conceived the idea of making a crusade against the Ottoman from 1515, when he wrote from Bologna to the king of Navarre the following words :—

“ My zeal and natural inclination is without fiction and dissimulation to employ my strength and youth to make war, for the honour and reverence of God, our Saviour, against the enemies of the Faith.”

But as at the time of the fall of Constantinople, when the Byzantine Emperor Constantine Palaiologos fruitlessly, though heroically, laid down his life in its defence, so again at this time the rivalries of the great states of Europe paralysed their acts and left such purposes unexecuted, and the invasions of the Mussulman unhindered.

All these activities of Caretto, fully explained by him in the Chapter General summoned in 1520, aroused its enthusiastic applause for what he had done to face the grave situation. His death on the 10th of January, 1521, handed on the duty of defending Rhodes to his brilliant successor, Villiers de l'Isle Adam.

Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam (1521–1522). When the place of Grand Master was vacant by the death of



PART OF THE BASTIONS AND WALLS OF RHODES WITH THE FORT OF ST. NICOLAS ON THE LEFT

[Rotiers.]

Caretto, three candidates were in the field to replace him, Thomas Ocray of the tongue of England, Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam of the tongue of France and André d'Amaral, or del Maral, of the tongue of Castile. The majority of votes was given, on the 21st of January, 1521, to the second, who was absent in France, but very popular amongst the Knights for his characteristic courage and talent. The result of the election roused enthusiasm amongst the Knights and the people, with the exception of Amaral, who is recorded to have said that his elected rival would be the last Grand Master at Rhodes, and if we may trust history, he did his best to make him so.

Isle Adam, on hearing of his election, bade farewell to François I., and journeyed to Rhodes, bringing with him many Knights and supplies of war. After various adventures with fire and storm and the ambush of the Turkish admiral, who tried to capture him at sea, he reached Rhodes safely on the 19th of September.

Soon after his arrival Isle Adam received an ambassador of Suleiman, the new Sultan of Turkey, who brought to him a letter from that sovereign, written in Greek and congratulating him on his election.¹

This letter of the Sultan is worth reproduction, and reminds us of the pompous style of the Babylonian and Assyrian kings :—

“ The Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, by the Grace of God, King of Kings, Sovereign of Sovereigns, Very Great Emperor of Constantinople and of Trebizonde, Very Powerful King of Persia, of Arabia, of Syria and of Egypt, Supreme Master of Europe and of Asia, Prince of Aleppo, Guardian of Mecca,

¹ Biliotti and Cottret, *l'Île de Rhod.* p. 290 f.

Possessor of Jerusalem, and Ruler of the Universal Sea, to—

“Philippe Villiers de l’Isle Adam, Grand Master of the Island of Rhodes,

“Salutation,

“I congratulate thee on thy new dignity and on thy felicitous arrival in thy States. I wish thou mayest rule there in greater happiness and glory, even more than that of thy predecessors. It only needs for thee to benefit by Our benevolent kindness, that thou shouldst crave Our sublime goodwill, as friend, and hasten to congratulate Us on the conquests We have just made in Hungary, where we have subjugated the important place of Belgrade, after having put to the edge of Our redoubtable sword all those who ventured to oppose.”

The ambassador who carried this letter of Suleiman was directed in speech to modify the approximations to threat which seem contained in the last phrase. But the Grand Master seems not to have been intimidated by the exalted letter and truculent threats of the Turkish Sultan. After consulting the Great Council of Knights, he answered in the following terms :—

“Brother Philippe Villiers de l’Isle Adam, Grand Master of Rhodes, to—

“Suleiman, Sultan of the Turks,

“Salutations.

“I have fully understood the letter which your envoy has brought me. Your propositions of peace and friendship are as agreeable to me as they must be unpleasant to Kurdoglou, who attempted to surprise me on my journey from France to Rhodes; not having succeeded in his project, he has penetrated into the Channel of Rhodes, where,

favoured by night, he attacked and captured two merchant ships travelling under our protection; but the galleys of the Order which I sent in his pursuit, beat him, put him to flight, and made him disgorge what he had already taken from the merchant ships.

“ Adieu.”

This letter was conveyed to Constantinople by a Greek citizen of Rhodes, as the Grand Master feared to send a Knight lest the Sultan should retain him as a hostage. Two answers to this letter came, the one from the Grand Vizier, mildly remonstrating with the Grand Master for his lack of politeness towards so mighty a potentate and advising him to be more moderate in his expressions, whilst the other letter from the Sultan expressed great indignation and menace.

The Grand Master answered them both: his letter to the Vizier was drawn up with some moderation and politeness, but his answer to the Sultan was as implacable in tone as was the letter which he had received from him, as appears from the following words:—

“ Thou speakest to me of thy late victories, but forgettest that there is nothing more uncertain in its issues than an appeal to the sword.”

The second siege of Rhodes by the Turks. The altruistic dreams of François I. failed to unite the Christian princes, and a war broke out with the Emperor, Charles V., which by the irony of fate brought François into alliance with the Turk later. Suleiman, taking advantage of this conflict, and also aware of the division in Europe owing to the Protestant reforms of Martin Luther, seized Belgrade, and decided to expel the Knights from

Rhodes, the Grand Master of which had showed himself so offensive and defiant.

He was conscious of the fact that in so doing he was executing his father's plans, which, as we have already seen, embraced a policy prompted by the geographical position of the island between Constantinople and Alexandria, and its consequent military and commercial importance.

We hear that Selim stated in his will to his son Suleiman: "Thou wilt reign great and powerful, if thou drivest the Knights from Rhodes, and if thou takest Belgrade."

But the new Sultan was likewise encouraged and his ambition stimulated by some of his high officials, and also by two letters from Rhodes in which the unpreparedness of the island for a protracted resistance was strongly emphasised.

Upon this he gave instructions for the preparation of a large fleet and a large army and immense quantities of provisions and munitions. When these tidings in February 1522 reached the Knights, the Grand Master did his best to rise to the gravity of the situation. He immediately solicited the active assistance of the sovereigns of Europe and of the Christian corsairs, sent agents in all directions to gather in all kinds of stores, from food and timber to men and munitions; and generally speaking, every measure for the defence of the island in view of a probable long siege was pushed forward.

Thus from Patmos and Greece came corn; from Crete fifteen well-stocked ships with wine and 400 fighting men, and Gabriele T. da Martinengo, the eminent Venetian engineer, who strengthened the fortifications in certain places and took such a conspicuous place



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF RHODES
(From an old picture)

[Flandini.]

in the defence. Another Venetian ship was induced to add its supplies to the stores of Rhodes, and a Genoese vessel was persuaded to assist against the invaders.

In answer to the appeal of the Grand Master to the Christian sovereigns of Europe, some small help was sent from England, France, Spain and the Pope. Unfortunately the one English ship provided sank in the British Channel with Knights and munitions; the two Spanish ships being attacked by Moorish pirates were also lost, and the preparations for sending the French ships from the harbours of Provence were so lengthy that the ships never left. The only tangible effort of the Pope was 6,000 ducats, which arrived in Rhodes before the city was surrounded.

The solitary exception to the failure of relief ships to reach Rhodes came from the king of Naples, but of the four which he sent only three arrived at Rhodes, on the 11th of August, 1522, when the siege was far advanced.

The natives were directed to gather the barley in April, and to keep the live stock ready for removal within the castles or to Rhodes, and to be prepared at the first intimation to destroy everything which could be of service to the enemy in the neighbourhood of the city.

Besides these, some elaborate contrivances were stretched along the shores near the city and in the region of the Fort of St. Nicolas, for preventing the approach of the enemy fleet into the immediate vicinity of the town. Such were craft loaded with stones and sunk a little away seawards and a floating timber boom which was extended from this fort to the Windmill Tower, lying on the eastern extremity of the harbour, and linked with a great iron chain to the Tower of France *vis-à-vis*, across the mouth of the port. In addition, a

very full examination was made of all the artillery and other weapons of the defences.

But the number of the defenders at that time was very small in comparison with the enormous Turkish preparations. There were about 600 Knights, 400 Cretans and 500 members of various nationalities from ships in the harbour. But this force was greatly increased by the voluntary enlistment of the Greek islanders. More than 6,000 in number, the *élite* of virile power, enabled the Grand Master to man the walls and bastions, and to meet the onslaughts of the Turk with the utmost tenacity.

The Turkish slaves, a thousand in number, and a large section of the country people were employed during day and night on the works of the fortifications.

Owing to the limited number of fighting men at his disposal, Isle Adam was obliged to confine himself to the defence of a few of the castles which belonged to the Knights, and these were Lindos, Monolithos and Pheraclos at Rhodes and that of the island of Cos, besides Halicarnassos on the Asiatic mainland. All the other islands were almost left undefended.

But various reports coming to the Grand Master made him fear a sudden appearance of the Turkish fleet. Therefore, though it was the month of May, he directed the whole of the country people to fulfil his latest orders and concentrate in the city, which prevented them from reaping the harvest of corn, which was getting ripe.

The Turkish preparations having been completed, the various ships forming the fleet and carrying a large force of infantry were gathered together between the Imperial Arsenal and Galata, in front of the Mosque of Eyoub.

But let us hear the Turkish writer, Ahmed Hafouz :—¹

“ The various ships of the great Turkish navy, galleons, frigates, sloops, barks, etc., were propelled by 40,000 oarsmen, carrying also 25,000 of infantry, whom, according to the sublime Imperial command, the Sandjac Beys and the Beyler Beys (Governors-General) had sent from the provinces with arms and supplies, because the magnanimous Sultan destined them to rejuvenate the face of the earth. These recruits arrived in divisions, preceded by the Corps of the Ulimas, by the Great Standard of Islam, and by the trumpets. They were then rapidly placed on board the ships, they were accompanied with the prayers of the people and the benedictions of the Sultan, and these prayers were repeated on each ship on which the troops were embarked.

“ When it started for sea on the 10th of Redjeb 928 (June 5, 1522) this flotilla covered the whole surface of the sea as far as Bechictach, and all the craft, whatever their rig, carried at their prow the flags of Islam, brilliant with the gold of their embroidery, and flapping gently in the breeze. Hymns were intoned by thousands of voices, torches were blazing, rich tents were extended, the gilded prows, the music of ‘ *Zournas* ’ (‘ *Zampognas* ’) the joyous songs of the oarsmen, the ripple of the blue waves, the silver wakes of the ships, the cadence of the noise of the oars, the grinding of the ropes, all combined to arouse new life. It was a great day for Islam, and there was no doubt in the minds of the people as to the victory.”

“ The Grand Vizier, before starting on his military mission, approached the Sultan, asking him to allow the soldiers to possess the standards of war on which the successes they had had were inscribed with the blessed

¹ Biliotti and Cottret, *l'île de Rhod.* pp. 294 f.

name of the Prophet in letters of gold; flags which, with the grace and benediction of God, had passed victoriously over provinces and kingdoms." "The Sultan," as Hafouz adds, "granted this request, and casting his hands towards the Almighty God, supplicated Him to accord the conquest of Rhodes. To this prayer not only the faithful on earth, but even the angels in heaven answered Amen."

The Sultan meanwhile, before despatching his fleet and opening hostilities, sent a form of ultimatum from Constantinople, dated the 1st of June, 1522, to the Grand Master. This reached Rhodes on the 14th, and gave the Knights the option of being his vassals or of departing peaceably from the islands.

No answer was given to this message, and war was entered upon.

The scouts sent out by the Knights to search for the enemy's fleet reported within a week the presence of a hostile flotilla, probably the van of the enemy's fleet, in the waters around Chios; they also announced that some Turkish ships, thirty in number, had already attacked Cos unsuccessfully on the 14th of the month. The same ships shortly afterwards appeared in Rhodian waters and threw a force on shore between Villanova and Fanes to destroy the corn. By evening these thirty ships sailed to the Gulf of Symi, in order to join a great Turkish fleet.

At the beginning of July the Ottoman fleet, in a long line, hove in sight and sailed in front of the city of Rhodes. History repeating itself, as in the day of Demetrios, the Rhodians crowded all accessible eminences to view the magnificent, though terrifying, spectacle.

The number of the whole fleet was 300 ships, and a little later it was increased by others, notably from Egypt.

The Knights took the place appointed for them, in the bastion of the tongue to which they belonged. Isle Adam, accompanied by a body-guard, held the Gate of the Conquerors, near the bastion of England, and was ready at any moment to render assistance to a threatened quarter. The remainder of the defenders, divided into sections, were placed under the orders of leaders. The Fort of St. Nicolas was garrisoned by 30 Knights and 300 (or 600) Rhodians under the command of Guyot de Castellane.

The Turks began to disembark near the city between Phileremos and St. Etienne, and in the Bay of Trianda, and nearly thirty days were expended in bringing the forces from Marmarice, an excellent site opposite Rhodes, and landing them on the island, thus establishing a camp around the city. The commander-in-chief, the Vizier Mustapha, was in the middle of the Turkish enveloping army just facing the bastion of England which stood to the east of the city. The invading army is stated to have been in number about 200,000 men, of which the smaller section came, as we saw, by ship from Constantinople, whilst the larger, having passed through Asia Minor, concentrated at Marmarice under the direct command of the Sultan.

The actual hostilities did not commence until the Sultan himself arrived (July 28) to take command of the besieging forces and gave the order.

The first attack was made on the 29th of July, and was directed against the bastion of England, and a few days later against the bastions of Germany, Arragon, Italy and the tower of St. Nicolas, with heavy batteries of artillery, with very little results on account of the effective return fire from the defences, which silenced many Turkish guns. Moreover, a temporary success

of the Moslems in capturing an outwork at the post of Italy, which at one moment seemed to promise them much, came to nought, the post being retaken, owing to a cross fire, especially from the bastion of England, which galled their flanks.

The attack was now directed against the bastion of Auvergne and along the walls to the post of Italy, opposite part of which the Turks had lately raised two large earthworks to a considerable altitude. After a terrific and concentrated fire from many batteries, the walls of the post of Italy were breached, and likewise the walls of Provence, England and Arragon, which obliged the Grand Master to take up his place at the bastion of England, which was the most imminently threatened, and quickly construct defensive works behind the breaches, whilst loop-holing the neighbouring houses for sharp-shooting.

But notwithstanding all the heroism of the besieged and the skill of their engineering, the Turks steadily increased their pressure on the city. They prepared bundles with which to fill the ditches, and ladders for scaling the walls. When ready, the Mussulman storming parties advanced, casting these bundles before them into the ditches, and at the same time their sharpshooters picked off any defender who exposed himself to view. Attempting to scale the walls, they hung on with the tenacity of an octopus and rose still higher up the scaling ladders; but after frantic efforts they only met with death on reaching the summit, their bodies falling on their own dead below.

The Turks, baffled in frontal attack, sought other means for capturing Rhodes. And now the great mining duel began between the besiegers and the besieged; the one mining and the other counter-mining. Nearly half

a hundred mines are reported to have been made during August by the Turks, despite the difficulties of making them in rocky soil or when liable to infiltration of water.

Two mines were exploded on the 4th of September at the bastion of England, and they made a considerable breach through which the host of Janissaries rushed like a hungry pack of wolves and raised their flags. It was a critical moment, for it seemed as if the town were lost, but an inner defence blocked their onward progress, and after a protracted hand-to-hand struggle, in which the Grand Master took a prominent part, the assailants were hurled back through the breach with heavy losses. It was about this time that the Sultan was able to announce to his army that the expedition which he had despatched to Telos was crowned with success, though not without heavy loss, including that of the leader.

In the course of the next fortnight half a dozen mines were exploded at various points of the defensive works, which again led to violent, though fruitless, assaults.

Some days later a Hebrew doctor, suspected of having dealings with the enemy, and said to have been surprised in the act of giving information to the foe, was quartered.

The Sultan, encouraged by the breaches which had been blown in the walls, and wishing to hasten a conclusion, resolved to make a general attack by land and sea against the city on the 24th of September. All the preparations for a successful issue of this great assault were completed, and a stand was constructed for the Sultan to witness the scene of the expected triumph. On the eve, from midday till midnight, orders went about the camp announcing the salutations of the Sultan, and

also that "To-morrow there will be an assault; the stone and territory belong to the Padishah, the blood and the goods of the inhabitants are the spoils of the victors." The following morning the Turkish batteries opened thundering fire on the walls of Rhodes, and the infantry in great hosts assembled around the defences for the general assault, and simultaneously the Turkish fleet sailed to attack the city.

Ahmed Hafouz, referring to this moment, writes about the Sultan :—

"Determined to place himself at the head of his soldiers, the magnanimous Sultan mounts his noble war horse, arrives at the front ranks, and wishes still to advance, when his soldiers stop him, crying aloud : 'Sultan, turn the head of thy horse. Thou shouldst not expose thyself to the fire of the rifle. It would be against custom to do so. Stop here and be witness of our bravery.'"

The attack on the fortifications, which took place under the eyes of the high-seated sovereign, and the fire of the fleet against the inhabited part of the town were terrific; but equal to them was the resistance of the defenders. The women, old men and children likewise, aided in every possible way to repel the attack, actively assisting the fighters, or themselves casting down on the assailants stones, Greek fire, boiling oil, and seething pitch.

But let us hear the description of this scene by Hafouz :—

"Indeed the heroes of Islam hurled themselves in assault, whilst the Imperial fleet came to anchorage below the castle, and vomited its fire to the great consternation of the inhabitants, of which the buildings and bazaars were crumbling into ruins. The thunder of the innumerable cannons, the detona-

tion of the thousand rifles, the cry of a hundred thousand Mussulmans shouting together 'Allah Akbar!' ¹ united with the despairing clamour of the defenders, filled the air with a confusion of sounds unmatched in history. Whenever a piece of stone or a mass of the wall slid downwards with a crash, the brave soldiers of the Crescent clambered over the ditches, hung on to the walls, and escalated them with the help of ladders and ropes, not only under the lightning of cannon and rifle, but also under a lava of burning pitch and tar, which were poured upon them by the infidels from the height of the defences, whilst those who escaped the destruction when they reached the summit of attack, were then struck down by mace or javelin. This stubborn resistance forced the Turks to retire, except from two places, the bastions of England and Arragon, where repeated Turkish reinforcements thrown into the breaches found a footing, and on the last-named the Janissaries had even planted their flag. But their advanced position from the beginning was precarious, and they were first repulsed from the breach of England, and shortly after from that of Arragon, leaving behind them, as elsewhere, the ground thick with their dead, for no less than 15,000 Turks had been killed and wounded in this general assault."

The Sultan, greatly vexed at the failure of this attempt, and appalled at the slaughter that had occurred, is reported to have decided to raise the siege; but having been informed at this moment of suspense by an envoy, who is believed to have been sent by Amaral, that Rhodes was in a sad plight, he altered his mind, and placed Achmed Pasha in the supreme command for the continuation of the siege.

October was noteworthy for many assaults by

¹ "God Almighty."

the Turks, fire being directed unsuccessfully against the bastions of England and Provence and Italy, as also against Arragon, where the besiegers gained a footing; this caused a sombre change in the situation which foreshadowed the *dénouement*. Likewise in the same month the Janissaries captured the ramparts, but they were driven back by a counter-attack, during which Isle Adam, followed by the archbishops, Greek and Latin, and their clergy, many citizens, women and children, all uniting their efforts with the combatants, did actions of unforgettable heroism.

Historians relate the thrilling story of a young Greek lady, named Anastasia, who seeing her beloved mate fall amidst the enemy, at the time when the city's fate was at stake, and fearing then to see her children exposed to the brutality of the conquerors, or at least taken into slavery, kissed them tenderly, then killed them with her own hand; and not wishing to survive those whom she loved best in the world, she armed herself with a sword, rushed to the thickest of the fight and there found death amidst the bodies of the enemy whom she had struck down. We are also told that at last the bravery and tenacity of the defenders enabled them to retake the lost position of the bastion of Arragon and to build some new works behind the damaged wall.

It is stated that Amaral, the former rival of the Grand Master, played a sinister part and was proved treacherous about this time; sentence of death was passed on him and on his valet and both were executed, though Amaral vehemently denied the charge to the end, and some authors have tried also to vindicate his innocence.

But the very bad news reached the city that the

Turks were preparing quarters for the winter, and the heavy losses of the besieged, with the near certainty that no help would come from without, greatly depressed the spirit of the defenders, and their enthusiasm appeared to be failing.

It was now that Isle Adam again intervened, and with courageous words and indefatigable energy once more aroused the drooping spirits of all.

During the whole of November the Knights and the Rhodians devoted themselves to improving the new works of defence, to building trenches within the city, and to repelling the violent Turkish assaults on the fractured part of the walls. The Grand Master even began to employ the funds, amounting to 40,000 ducats, which had been kept in reserve for such an emergency as the present.

The most serious of these assaults were those directed against the breaches of Italy and Arragon. From the first the Turks were eventually expelled with great loss by the Knights, vigorously assisted by 250 Jews, but the wide breach of the post of Arragon, where a second furious attack towards the end of November occurred, rendered the situation very perilous, for it brought the Turkish storming columns right up against the newly constructed defences within.

The Knights, sadly reduced in number, were beginning to bend before the hostile torrent pouring upon them, and the end of the great drama at Rhodes seemed nigh. The bells of the city were sounding the alarm, and all armed men, with the rest of the population, streamed to the spot of danger to give help. The Turkish advance stopped, the gaping breach was reconquered, and heavy rain damped the enemy's powder, and made a landslide of its earthworks. The Turks

recoiled before the hurricane of fire and hand-thrown missiles, leaving the front of battle streaming with blood.

Hafouz adds that at the height of this mighty and impassioned strife, as often before, the besiegers and besieged mutually denounced and anathematised each other as infidels. Loud cries were raised by the defenders of "Infidels! Infidels!" whilst the Turks responded with shouts of "Idolaters! Idolaters! Infidels!"

Jacques de Bourbon,¹ also writing of the participation of the women in the siege, states in very old French :—

"But the women who were to be found in numbers at points where there was battle and assault, carried stones, earth and water to do harm to the enemy. They also carried with devoted zeal and untiring energy, bread and wine and other food-stuffs, to invigorate and revive the fighting men.

"There were also none who had not thrown stones against the enemies within the ditches. Of these women many were killed and wounded."

Yet, without doubt, notwithstanding self-devotion and heroism, the fate of Rhodes was decided by the beginning of December. A large section of the garrison was dead, 3,000 of the people, and 230 Knights. The remainder were so unnerved by privations and the long ordeal of the siege that nothing except the unknown possibilities of Turkish ferocity, if victorious, caused them to persist in their duty.

The situation was aggravated by the reduction of the number of slaves and workers, by which very few hands could now be found for building new defence works and moving guns from place to place. Then, again, the munitions were falling short, whilst at the same time

¹ Kergorlay, *Soirs d'Épop.* p. 199.

the stores of the enemy and the numbers of his hosts were ever increasing.

All these unhappy circumstances, combined with the serious want and apprehension developing amongst the people, created a desire in the city for peace.

Moreover, about the same time, Suleiman, calculating his vast losses,¹ and desiring to take possession of the city without further injury from warfare, had been inspired to make certain overtures of a pacific nature to the Rhodians, declaring himself to be the Emperor of the Greeks, and well-disposed to the Greek nation, whilst at the same time he had sent a Genoese as agent to negotiate with the Latins.

Isle Adam was opposed to the capitulation, saying that it was unworthy that the Christian should bow before the Moslem, the Cross be humbled before the Crescent, the Knights before the Janissaries, and urged them all to die first. But others prevailed on him to give way.²

Thus driven to extremity, Isle Adam summoned a Grand Council of Knights, which unanimously decided on capitulation, if the Sultan proposed it. The desired step was taken by Suleiman on the 10th of December, 1522, and the terms were that the Grand Master should hand over the city within three days; failing which, neither the great nor the small would be spared, but everything living, even down to the cats, would be cut to pieces. After some hesitation and further slight hostilities, at last, on the 20th of December, a peace was arranged under the following terms:—

That the Knights should evacuate Rhodes, and the five castles of Halicarnassos, Cos, Lindos, Monolithos

¹ It is stated that nearly 100,000 men were lost to him, up till now, in the siege; nearly the half in battle and the rest from illness.

² Dapper, *Descr. des Îles de l'Arch.* p. 118.

and Pheraclos within twelve days; that they might take their arms, the sacred vessels, and relics, and their archives; that their ships should be left in possession of the Knights, and that the Sultan would provide any further shipping that might be required for their passage to Crete; that those of the people who wished might leave the island with them, or within the next three years, and with all their removable property; that none should be expelled, and that those who elected to remain should not have anxiety about their family or property, and should be immune from all tribute for five years; that their children should for ever be exempt from conscription for the Janissaries; and that they might freely exercise Christian worship, repairing their old churches and building new; that all Mussulmans held in bondage should be immediately set free; that the Turkish army should retire some miles, and that until after the departure of the Knights, 4,000 Janissaries should alone occupy the city, and, finally, that fifty hostages should be rendered by the Order, taken equally from the Knights and from the citizens.

On Christmas Day, a muezzin gave forth at the top of his voice the prayer of the Prophet, thus officially announcing the incorporation of Rhodes in the Ottoman Empire, and on the same day the Sultan with great pomp and military force entered the city, and went to the Church of St. John,¹ where he gave thanks to God for his victory, and had the church consecrated as a Mohammedan mosque.

Thus this beautiful island, once a bulwark of the religion of Christ, sank away into the mist and darkness of the night.

Later in the day a considerable force of Janissaries,

¹ It was destroyed in 1850 by a violent and mysterious explosion.

escaping from control, and not pleased with the bounty of 40,000 ducats officially granted to the soldiery, mutinously entered the town. The men would have preferred to win what they might in the turmoil of a sack of the city rather than receive this tame and measured form of a pretended generosity. They broke open the doors of the houses and churches, and in a relatively short space of time, before they were recalled, they had, amongst other vandalisms, smashed the statues and the carved work in the churches, and plundered wherever they could do so.

In this way the treaty was violated, five days after the ratification, and many thought that this was a bad augury for coming events. Happily Suleiman did not profane his triumph by the usual acts of violence and atrocity.

In the early morning of the 1st of January the rising sun cast its rays across the fleet which conveyed the survivors of the Order of St. John and some of the citizens from Rhodes in the direction of Crete.

Thus Villiers de l'Isle Adam, fourteenth French Grand Master at Rhodes, and nineteenth Grand Master in the island, disappears with his Order from the history of Rhodes, to find, a little later, asylum at Malta.

The next day the Sultan entered the city and offered up his prayer at St. John's Church, and in the afternoon, accompanied by a large fleet and a considerable army, he started on his homeward journey; but before he left the island, Hafouz tells us that the magnanimous Sultan looked over the scenes of the late battles with tears in his eyes, and then went on board his ship and sailed away.

Opinions about the Knights. The siege of Rhodes will remain one of the most memorable in the history of these centuries, one of the most thrilling on record,

and will for ever be creditable to its Knights and to its Greek defenders, from a military point of view. Nevertheless, it has been said by severe critics that the Knights should all have sacrificed their lives in the venture to the last man, thus sealing the glorious record with all their blood, and sanctifying the name of the island in the history of Christendom. Rather, we would add, the blame should be on the Western Christian Powers, which, knowing the perilous position of Rhodes, left it to bear the brunt of the struggle alone.

The charge is also made against the Knights that, during their residence in Rhodes and the neighbouring islands for 212 years, they did not improve the condition of the islands and their inhabitants in proportion to their power and influence. Except for the enormous military engineering works raised by them,¹ which are still largely existing, and some few convents, churches and hostels, there is nothing to prove their civilising activity. Moreover, the people of the islands which had contributed money, labour and arms to the advantage of the Knights seem not to have been much benefited by their presence, either intellectually or materially, as happened to some degree under the Venetians in Crete.

Therefore they made only an episode in the history of the islands, and they have left little impression on the memory of the natives.

The rule of the Hospitallers at Rhodes is so easily seen from various and often opposite points of view, that it induces an historian like Finlay to state that "the dominion of the Knights at Rhodes affords an example of the different aspects under which historical facts may be viewed by different classes and nations." And he adds: "By the Greeks generally, and particularly

¹ See Gabriel, A., *La Cité de Rhodes*.

their own subjects, they were felt to be proud, bigoted, and rapacious tyrants, whose yoke bore heavier on their Christian brethren, whom they pretended to defend against the Mahommedans, than the yoke of those very Mahommedans."

Vertot, though an admirer of the Order, likewise owns that the Turks treated their Greek subjects more mildly than did the Latin Knights.

We think it probable that there is an exaggeration in these views, and that the Greek natives, detached from their Byzantine Empire by force, were sympathetic towards their Christian co-religionists, but they were also not alienated from the Knights, because they considered them brave, and not such fanatical aliens as the Latins in other Greek islands, such as Chio and Cyprus, where oppression and sanguinary persecution had at times occurred. And the fact that the islanders stood by the Knights in all their great contests and struggles with Islam, proves beyond question that they preferred the rule of the Knights to that of the Turk, though doubtless still cherishing the hope that they might yet see their national revival with the rest of the Greeks, as announced in traditions and prophecies, on the day of the fall of Constantinople.

A still further indictment submitted against the Knights is that they had connection with the Christian corsairs, and that they even fitted out galleys for despoiling the Turks, thus pleasing the other pirates.

Yet there was a law forbidding the Knights to have any dealings with pirates, and it was only by licence from the Grand Master that Knights were permitted to own or arm ships. The same authority could alone grant security to pirates by the issue of safe-conducts.

CHAPTER IX

THE DODECANESE UNDER THE TURKS

Turkish rule in Rhodes. Suleiman, before leaving Rhodes, took all necessary measures to ensure its retention. He left a garrison of 1,800 Janissaries and a score¹ of galleys, whilst giving the order for a large number of workmen to reconstruct the damaged defences of the city. Villiers de l'Isle Adam, still entertaining the hope of recovering Rhodes, had approached the great Powers of that day, Charles V., the Emperor of Germany, Henry VIII. of England, François I. of France and, last but not least, the Pope, for their support of his idea, and they adhered to his plan and offered some material encouragement. But this attempt, which had been brought to the knowledge of the Turkish Governor in Egypt and was approved by him, happened also to come to the ears of Suleiman, who frustrated it by immediate action. Thus it was shown that Rhodes could be lost by the Knights, but not so easily recovered by them. Rhodes remained in the hands of the Turk for some centuries, indeed until lately. From that time all individual characteristics gradually disappeared from the people of Rhodes, every element of literature, culture and art were uprooted in the land, and more lastingly and hopelessly than after the destructive work of Cassius and the Romans, for under Roman rule there was a certain, even brilliant, revival of intellectual and artistic

¹ Or fifteen according to Hafouz. (See Biliotti and Cottret, *l'Île de Rhod.* p. 349.)

life peculiar to the island, which drew highly endowed men to it from all lands for a long period. But after the coming of the followers of the Mecca prophet, a totally new and uncultured form of life came over the land, shutting out its light and extinguishing its native thought, a state of things only relieved from time to time by sundry travellers who raised the veil.

This state of affairs, which existed also in Cos and the other islands of the Dodecanese, resembled that of all the other provinces which fell under the oppressive Ottoman Empire, in which a steady and progressive decay has been the leading feature.

Yet the spirit of Hellenism died hard amongst the islanders of the Dodecanese. No doubt this was only an after-glow of their once great industry, brilliant capacity and genius; but it was still alive, hibernating, as it did all along, even to the day of its astounding resurrection.

The first Turkish administration at Rhodes was military, and later on became civil. Then the Turkish Empire was divided into Vilayets, Sandjaks, and Cazas; Rhodes was the capital of the archipelago and the seat of the general governor (Vali). At times the seat of this governor was conveyed to Chio, and a sub-governor (Mutessariff) was established in his place.

The other islands' submission. Before or after the fall of Rhodes, under Suleiman, the Turkish Sultan, the other islands of the Dodecanese were either captured or surrendered themselves to him, as they considered that they were not in a position to offer resistance to the army and navy of the Turkish Empire, being now, moreover, unsupported or entirely abandoned by the Knights.

Thus *Chalki* offered her submission to the Turk on

the 15th of July, 1522. *Telos* was captured shortly afterwards, and *Nisyros*, according to Hafouz, decided to capitulate on the 6th of September.

Cos, unable to offer a protracted resistance, surrendered immediately after the fall of Rhodes in 1523, as also did *Calymnos* and *Leros*, whose history had so often been linked together.

Patmos : this island, very conspicuous on account of its monastery, was nominally under Venetian rule, and the Knights, well disposed towards the inhabitants, supported their trade by their fleet, and took advantage of their harbours for operations against the pirates. But when the Turkish ascendancy in the *Ægean* became supreme, *Patmos* was not free from the risk of raids, and it was in a very sad position, except in so far as the monastery was concerned, the monks of which, being on good terms with the Moslem invaders, were not molested.¹ On the other hand, it appears that they also were in time placed under the obligation of paying tribute, which was an inroad on the privileges they had so long enjoyed. Thus we see them during the year 1502 announcing with a heavy heart that they must pay annually fifty ducats to the Turk. Khaireddin Barbarossa later on (1537) completely wiped out the Venetian authority in the island and obliged the sparse population and the monks to recognise the Turkish political sovereignty, whilst using the harbours of the island as basis for attacking and expelling the Venetians from the Cyclades, the Northern Sporades, and other Greek islands.

Carpathos and *Casos*, which were permanently secured by Venice to the family of Cornaro, and always suffered from the inroads of the Turkish pirates, were

¹ W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 599.

detached from Venetian protection and absorbed into the Turkish Empire after 1537, when Venice waged war with the Turks. Then the Turkish fleet under the command of the great red-bearded pirate, Barbarossa, promoted to be an admiral, sailed over to the Cyclades and Northern Sporades and abolished all the small Venetian dynasts (lords, dukes and rectors).

Astypalaia, which appears to have been re-peopled after the efforts made by Quirini, and was again largely depopulated by the hostile Moslem pirates, who were the eternal terror of the Ægean islands, was also captured by the fleet of Barbarossa in his expedition against the Venetian dynasts in the archipelago. But when the Venetians, defeated by the Turks on all sides, recognised by the treaty of 1540 the sovereignty of the Sultan over this island, it was found that the Turks by their devastations had left no subjects to rule. The Quirini thus lost *Astypalaia*, which had been an addition to their name (Quirini-Stampalia), in spite of their efforts with the Sultan Suleiman to retain the island, and also their offer to recognise the loss of *Amorgos*, which likewise belonged to their dominion.¹

As regards *Symi*, two contradictory opinions have been expressed. The one is that the Symiots passed under the Ottoman sway after the capitulation of Rhodes; the other, which is more probable, tallying with the traditions of *Symi* and the Firman of Mehmet IV. (a firman which applies specially to this island), is as follows.

The islanders first decided to send delegates to Suleiman, when he was still encamped in *Rena*, and not far from the harbour of *Marmarice*, to offer him their submission, at the same time bringing with them as

¹ W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 625.

offerings, a sufficient quantity of fresh loaves and excellent sponges, the only products of their industries.

The Sultan is said to have received the conciliatory visitors with pleasure, as their attitude saved him the necessity of resorting to force, and in accordance with the sacred Mussulman law, a distinction was always made in the treatment of conquered foes, between those who voluntarily surrendered and those who had to be vanquished by arms, "Vi et Armis."

*The privileges of the twelve islands.*¹ He accepted their gifts, conceded exceptional privileges by issuing an imperial firman, extending to the islanders a virtual autonomy under the suzerainty of Turkey and the control of its Pasha at Rhodes, exempting them from all taxation other than an annual tribute of 800 piastres and a consignment of fine sponges for the Sultan's palace, and granting them the special right of fishing sponges, without tax or hindrance, in all the seas of the Ottoman Empire. The right was also given them to retain their armed fortresses and to employ them for defence.

These liberal concessions were in reality a legal recognition of an old régime, of which the regulations had survived from the glorious days of ancient Greece, and which had been respected by the Romans, the Byzantines, and the Knights.

Amongst the concessions of Sultan Suleiman was one that granted to the women of Symi permission to wear a dress which very much resembled the uniform of the Janissaries. This was done because the Sultan was very pleased with the bread which two women of Symi had

¹ Σουλτανικά φερμάνια. Περί τῶν προνομίων τῆς νήσου Σύμης καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν Νοτίων Σποράδων ὑπὸ Δ. Χοβιαρᾶ ἐν Δελτ. ἱστορ. ἔταιρ. p. 321 ff. J. Stephanopoli, *Les îles de l'Égée*, p. 162 ff. *Les aspirations autonomistes en Europe*, IX. *L'autonomie des îles grecques*, par Ad. Reinach, p. 247 ff. *Les îles de la mer Égée occupées par les Italiens*, par M. Kebedgy.

prepared for him, these women having been sent by the notables of the island at the Sultan's request, as he was very pleased with the loaves offered to him on the first occasion.

This picturesque costume continued to be the local dress of the women down to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and distinguished them from the women living on the other islands, each of which had its own peculiar costume. These costumes still exist, but they are gradually falling into disuse.

The benefit of the firman issued for Symi was also extended to the other islands of the Dodecanese, with the exception of Cos and Rhodes, the latter having succumbed to force alone, and the former having surrendered according to the terms of the treaty, with the natural consequences of being administered like the rest of the conquered provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

To this fact is due the name "privileged islands," amongst which in this case Icaria and Megiste (Castellorizzo) were numbered, and thus was formed the group of the twelve privileged Sporades. This constituted a precedent which was effective for centuries, because the system of autonomy granted by Suleiman was confirmed by a series of Imperial firmans issued by succeeding Sultans, such as Mehmet IV. in 1644, Ahmet III. in 1721, Osman III. in 1755, Abdul Hamid I. in 1774 and 1775, Selim III. in 1806 and Mahmoud in 1813, and lasted onwards unaltered till well after the middle of the nineteenth century.

The original firman of Suleiman does not exist, but its contents were considered as a true treaty, based on the sacred law of Islam, which explains why his successors respected it.

Of the other firmans some are still existing in their

original form and bear the Imperial emblem (Tougran), and some are officially certified copies, and all these are kept in the archives of Symi.

These firmans secured to the islanders a form of self-administration, but this autonomy was not so complete as to entitle them to keep diplomatic agents at Constantinople or elsewhere, as some writers have wrongly assumed.

The firmans also strongly prohibited the Turkish official under most severe penalties from any interference with the affairs of the natives. Beyond this the same firmans forbade the Ottoman admirals and generals to maltreat the inhabitants, if by chance they should come into contact with them.

The only visible limit to the islanders' complete independence was the tribute, called in Turkish "Maktou," which each island had to pay annually, according to its prosperity.

The Maktou, which was levied in the islands that had been previously under the Knights, was devoted to the furtherance of the Mussulman religious establishments founded by the Sultan Suleiman in Rhodes and named Vakuf. This reveals to us how it was that these small islands were also called Vakuf of the Sultan Suleiman.

This tribute was gathered by a receiver of the taxes, called Sumbasi, who was sent once a year by the governor of Rhodes with the strict orders that, as representative of the Imperial fiscal administration, he should confine himself to taking the Maktou from every municipality. The security of this official, who was the only Turkish functionary allowed to approach the islands, was imposed on the insular Greek authorities as a duty, to be neglected at their peril.

In accordance with the self-administration recog-



GROUP OF FINE HONEYCOMB SPONGES



[By courtesy of E. J. J. Cresswell, Esq.]
GROUP OF FINE CUP SPONGES

nised in the firmans to the islanders, the government of each island was in the hands of a " Council " annually elected by its people.

This Council was called Demogerontia (municipality) and was composed of twelve members named municipal councillors, of one treasurer, and of the president of the Council, called Demogeron (mayor). This Council exercised full administrative, judicial and financial powers, according to the customs of the inhabitants.

Besides this Council there was the general assembly of the people, which was summoned by the Demogeron to meet in the open for important affairs and to fix the taxes of the community. One of these taxes was styled a contribution, and was paid by all except the old men and the poor.

The revenues of the community were well dispensed, and a system had existed in the privileged islands of which even the most orthodox Socialists might approve. Education was gratuitously given to every one, as also books to the poor. Education, medical advice, attendance and medicines were free to all, for teachers, doctors and drugs were paid for by the municipalities. The indigent were helped likewise by the municipality, and the wealthy had to support the poor and give them marine work; the wealthy were also expected to give donations for the improvement of the city and the promotion of education, and to assist public enterprise of all kinds.

All this reminds us of ancient traditions and habits, as also do the meetings of the local assemblies, which at times were turbulent and expressive of emphatic opinions, when factions spoke loudly, and " the few " (οἱ ὀλίγοι) resisted " the many " (οἱ πολλοί).

The following estimates of the revenue and expendi-

ture of Symi during the year 1910 give an accurate idea of the social system we have described above. This budget was then presented to the British Foreign Office by a delegation which was in London for the purpose of supporting the threatened privileges of the islands :—

1. Quota from Customs	£T23 0
2. Revenue from sponges (this year's estimates)	1,110 0
3. Import duties on goods	1,074 0
4. Flour	259 0
5. Spirits	110 0
6. Church contributions	117 0
7. Rents	120 0
8. Sheep and goats	88 0
9. Harbour dues	66 0
10. Documentary fees	56 0
11. "Contributions" (which, owing to this year's numerous emigration of the inhabitants, are estimated at only)	500 0
Total	£T3,523 0

All this is disposed of as follows :—

1. To duty (Maktou) to the Imperial Government	£T488 75
2. To medicines (reduced on account of the present economic difficulty)	546 0
3. To doctors (limited to three on account of crisis)	445 0
4. To salaries to the personnel of the communal apothecary	166 50
5. To schools for boys and girls (retrenched this year owing to the crisis)	900 0
6. To salaries—2 notables, 1 cashier, first secretary, 2 clerks, 1 chief messenger, 2 messengers, 2 collectors, 2 rural keepers, 10 road cleaners, 4 night watchmen	420 0
7. To interest on loans	445 0
8. To lighting expenses for the town	80 0
9. To alms to the indigent	30 0
	£T3,521 25
Surplus	£2 55
	£T3,523 80

Under this autonomous system of government the inhabitants of the privileged islands seized every favourable opportunity to develop their virtues and their general welfare, as also to promote the Greek culture in their midst, not only for themselves, but likewise for all the members of the enslaved nation, as was shown in their good scholastic work.

The schools of Patmos and Symi. The leading centres of learning were at Patmos and at Symi.

It appears that the founding of the first school at Patmos was carried out by Nikephoros Chartophylax, a Cretan, who during the years of 1580–1600 taught there, amongst other pursuits, philosophy.

But during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the conditions were not favourable for the development of the Greek studies, because the overlordship of the Turk was strongly opposed to enlightenment of any kind, the opening up of the human mind always having been the terror of tyrants, especially such as the one in question.

Brighter days began to dawn towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Greek culture, which had been in check, and had taken refuge in foreign states, showed signs of revival in the subjected and downtrodden lands of the Hellenes.

From that time onwards the centres of learning commenced to multiply under the protection of the Greek Church, which alone had succeeded in keeping it alive during the dark period just passed. Then it was that the schools of Patmos (Πατμιάς Σχολή), of Chio, of Jannina, of Symi, besides other places, came into being.

Makarios Calogeras, a deacon, re-established the school of Patmos in the year 1717 near the Grotto of the Apocalypse, and a great number of students from all parts of the Hellenic world came there for mental improvement.

This work proceeded at an increasing ratio throughout that century and most of the next, down to 1857, after which the school became entirely local in its influence, because the university of Athens, the high ecclesiastical colleges, and other seats of learning attracted the students.

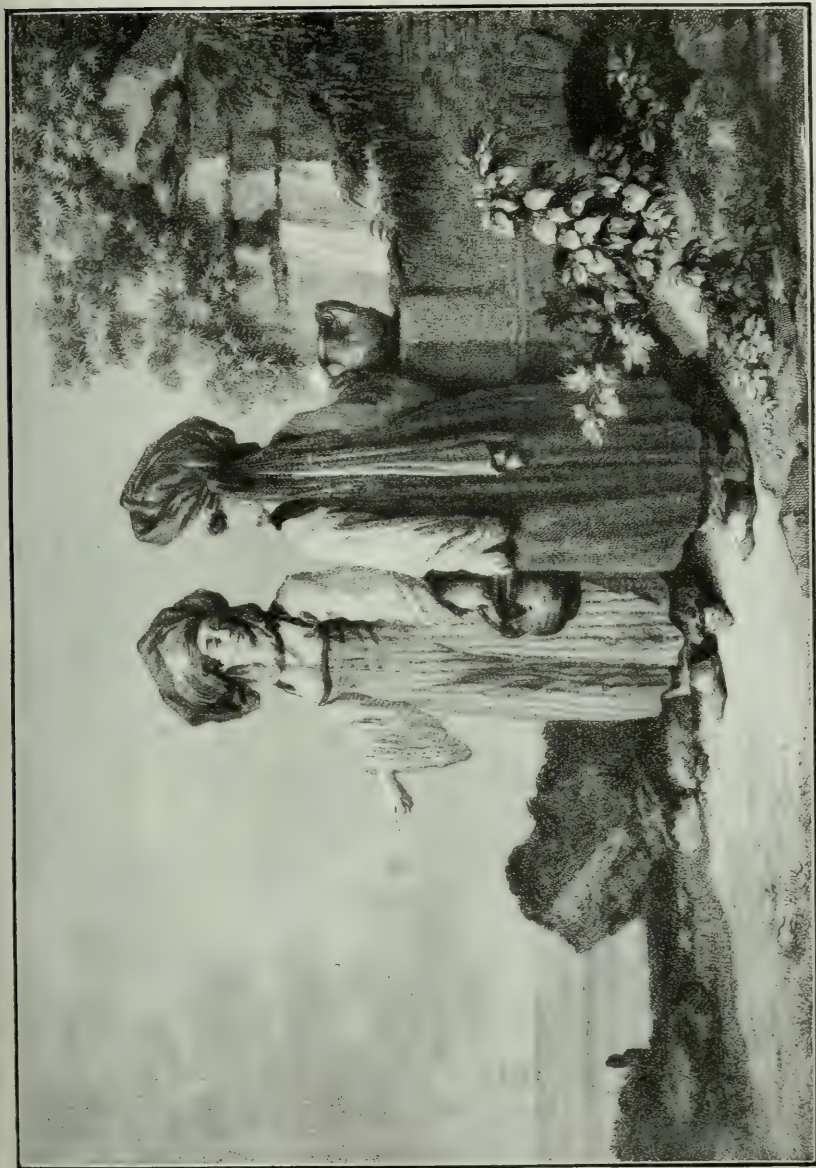
The well-known English traveller, Richard Pococke, who visited this school, wrote¹ in the year 1745 :—

“ This convent (of Apocalypse) is a sort of a novitiate or seminary, subject to the great convent, and is governed by a professor, whom they call Didascalos, who has a master under him. They teach the ancient Greek, which they call Helleniké, physics, metaphysics and divinity. They use the Grammar of Constantine Lascaris of Constantinople, and the Logic of Theophilos Corydaleos, both printed in Venice, and the Physics and Metaphysics of the latter in manuscript, and the Divinity of Georgius Quaresius of Scio, which is likewise in manuscript. They teach in a large school; the master instructs the children in the grammar, and the head professor teaches logic, philosophy, and divinity. I was present at their lectures; one of the scholars read, and the professor explained it. This school, and the present professor who governs it, are esteemed the best in all the East; they have about fifty scholars who come from different countries, and the greater part lodge in the two convents, though some of them are in the town.”

Turning to the Greek school of Symi, we find it was founded by the Symiot Synghellos Kallistratos Georgaris, about the middle of the eighteenth century, and outside the town at a place called “ Haghia Marina tou Ligeniou,” which was named after the chapel of St. Marina, where the school stood, and after the neighbourhood of the ancient demos of Λιγὴ, now called *Ligeni*. The additional appellation “ tou Ligeniou ” was added to distinguish the chapel from four others devoted to the same St. Marina.

After the Greek revolution the school was transferred to the rooms of the Great Panaghia tou Kastrou, and

¹ *A Description of the East*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 31.



[Choi-seul-Gong-flet.

WOMEN OF THE ISLAND OF PATMOS
(After a picture of the eighteenth century)

some years later to the church of St. George, which dominates the Acropolis and has been turned into a school. Its educational achievement was excellent, though not on such a large scale as that of Patmos; its teachers and students did much useful work and many were distinguished in various ways in the Greek revival.

Thus the two brothers, Benedict and Procopios Dendrinios, were chosen as the first teachers at the seminary of Paros founded by Capodistrias, the Governor of Greece.

Of the high schools the most prominent now are the Venetokleion Gymnasium at Rhodes, the Nikephoreion Gymnasium at Calymnos, where there is also the Vouva-leion Parthenagogeion, which gives high theoretical and practical instruction to the girls.

Causes of Depression. But many things disturbed the peace of the islanders and wrought calamities. Firstly, the visit of the Turkish tax-gatherer, who besides taking the "Maktou" fleeced the islanders, as did also the Turkish admirals, with their insatiable greed. It caused Sonnini to say that the islanders were happy when the Turks were out of sight, because their cupidity increased with the supplies given them, and reminds us that the Turks might have good laws, but in execution these miscarried. Secondly, there was the scourge of the plague, which the Turks did nothing to stop; and thirdly, the frequent attacks of the corsairs, which the Sultan's representatives made no effort to discourage, but did their best to support.

But outside and beyond all these were the wars of Turkey with the Christian states, especially Venice, which brought such frightful calamities on some of the islands of the Dodecanese, and largely contributed to ruin and depopulate them.

Thus the Venetian admiral Leonardo Foscolo in the

year 1648 assailed Leros and took the place, destroying the fortress, but a little later it was recaptured by the Turks, and the inhabitants, after having suffered the horrors of war, had to undergo the even more degrading influence of a brutal tyranny.

The same admiral during the same year blockaded Cos, but unsuccessfully.

Cos was likewise ravaged in 1601 by the Spaniards and their allies, and three years later some of its undefended villages were devastated by the Knights of Malta,¹ the previous masters of this island.

Such was again the case with Patmos, which, being a base of operations for the Venetians against the Turks during the war of Crete, was later on largely laid waste and pillaged by the Turks² and the pirates. The exception to this was the monastery, which the Turks spared on account of the respect which they always entertained for this shrine.

Thus, though the island during the seventeenth century was flourishing, and its ships went as far as Holland, and the hills and coasts were covered with solid and well-stocked houses, in the next century it was a bare island, without wood, with few and poor inhabitants and a dozen small boats on the shore. Such was again the case with Telos, Casas, Calymnos and Astypalaia, which suffered from the same exterminating piratical raids.

Such was again the case when Symi fell into the hands of the pirates and was deprived by them of *all its ships* and resources, of which Savary writes, describing the inhabitants he saw as plunged in misery, sadness and poverty.

¹ Finlay, *A Hist. of Greece*, V. p. 105.

² Randolph, *The Pres. State of the Is.*, p. 56.

But far exceeding these other excesses to which the natives were subjected were those of the notorious wrecker of the Parthenon, the Venetian admiral Francesco Morosini, then at war with Turkey, who in the year 1658 massacred several natives at Chalki,¹ and suffocated many others who took shelter in a cavern; their calcined bones, to be found at the present day in "Camenos Spilios" (Burnt Cavern), bear witness to the shocking act of the Venetians.

On the other hand, Fr. Morosini liked the island of Carpathos, and visited it in a friendly spirit with a large fleet during the same year, an operation which the Venetians carried out in the same spirit during the year 1670.

This Venetian admiral was also benevolently inclined towards Symi, with which he made a treaty in 1654 for the protection of the island's town and shipping against the pirates. The Symiots paid a fixed annual sum for this protection, and in return they had the satisfaction of knowing that their houses and religious edifices and, above all, their famous monastery of Panormites, were secure from the ravages of sea-marauders.

The condition of the islands under Turkey, however, recalls the words of Friesman when he writes:² "The principal islands of the Archipelago, once so famous, are now so degraded by the stupid barbarism of the Ottomans, that it would be difficult to recognise in them the smallest vestiges of the ancient Greece, the mother of all the sciences."

But though suffering thus grievous wrongs themselves, these inhabitants of the privileged islands of the Dodecanese forgot their tribulation on seeing the greater

¹ Biliotti and Cottret (*L'Île de Rhod.* p. 229) erroneously place this incident at the period of the Knights.

² *Description historique et géographique de l'Archipel* (1789). In the preface.

persecution and distress of their brother islanders of Rhodes and Cos, and also of the other Greeks, and this aroused the common spirit of sympathy and patriotism amongst them all. The spirit of independence, like a *feu sacré*, was ever alive, and on every part of the Greek territory where a finger of revolt was raised against the oppressor, there the islanders, animated by the pan-Hellenic love of freedom, responded by contributions of blood or treasure.

Emmanuel Georgillas Limenites of Rhodes personified this spirit when appealing in 1498–99 to the Christians to unite and deliver Constantinople from the Turk; as also Emmanuel Xanthos, who, born at Patmos, was the most zealous and diplomatic of the founders of the famous patriotic organisation “*Philiki Etaireia*,” which fanned the flame of war for Greek independence.

The War of Greek Independence. The Greeks in arms in 1821 had declared before God and man that their war against the Turks was a sacred war, a national war, a war of rights which a tyranny even if it continued thousands of centuries could not efface, a war against a cruel despot, against an unprincipled brigand, who came from afar to subjugate the enlightened and humane Hellenic people. The Dodecanesians ardently joined in the revolution, which likewise was openly declared by the Patriarch of Alexandria, who was at Patmos, his native island, about the same time, when the archbishop Germanos of Patrai sounded the glorious trumpet for the uprising of Greece. They hoisted the flag of independence, and the sacrifice of life, the hecatomb of dead offered by the Dodecanese to the altar of Freedom, is known to history. For it was in these waters, especially in those of Cos and Rhodes, that the Turkish fanaticism was most actively displayed, and

where the Christian population was subjected to unchecked pillage and massacre, which only the physical fatigue of the oppressor had stayed. It was there that the Greek admirals had the Dodecanesian harbours as naval bases for their liberating activity, and where Miaoulis won the most important sea battle in the War of Independence, during which the Turkish fleets were put to flight or burnt.

But especially prominent were the services which the Casians rendered to the cause of Hellenism during the first three years of the war (1821–1824) by their effective naval enterprise.

According to Pouqueville,¹ a contemporary French diplomatist and distinguished historian, the sailing ships of these islanders, called *scampa-via*, flew, without cessation under sail or with the oar, from the coasts of Crete to the shores of Egypt, and like Proteus, their legendary patron god, the Casians were almost ubiquitous, and in a thousand forms able so to worry the enemy, that he could no longer keep the sea except with a massed squadron.

Thus the Casians were the terror of the Turks by attacking their ships on their way to Crete and also in Cretan harbours, blockading the ports under the direction of their own captains, Th. Cantaritzis, Mark Malliarakis, and Nicholas Macris, the equals of Miaoulis, Kanaris and the other Greek admirals, and inflicting irreparable losses on the enemy, thereby paralysing his communications and assisting that great island in its heroic struggle for emancipation.

Pouqueville, admiring² these bold tactics of the Casians, tells us that the Turks would have been in the greatest possible distress had not the Franks of Smyrna,

¹ *Histoire de la Grèce*, III. pp. 498, 499.

² *Ibid.* p. 342 f.

abusing the flag of their sovereigns in order to make illicit gains, supported the barbarians.

The boldness at sea of the Casians was incidentally shown when with four vessels they raided the Turkish fleet which was in Damietta, intending to convey supplies for the army of Hassan Pasha in Crete, and succeeded in seizing thirteen or nineteen ships,¹ with much booty and treasure in specie (1,000,000 piastres).

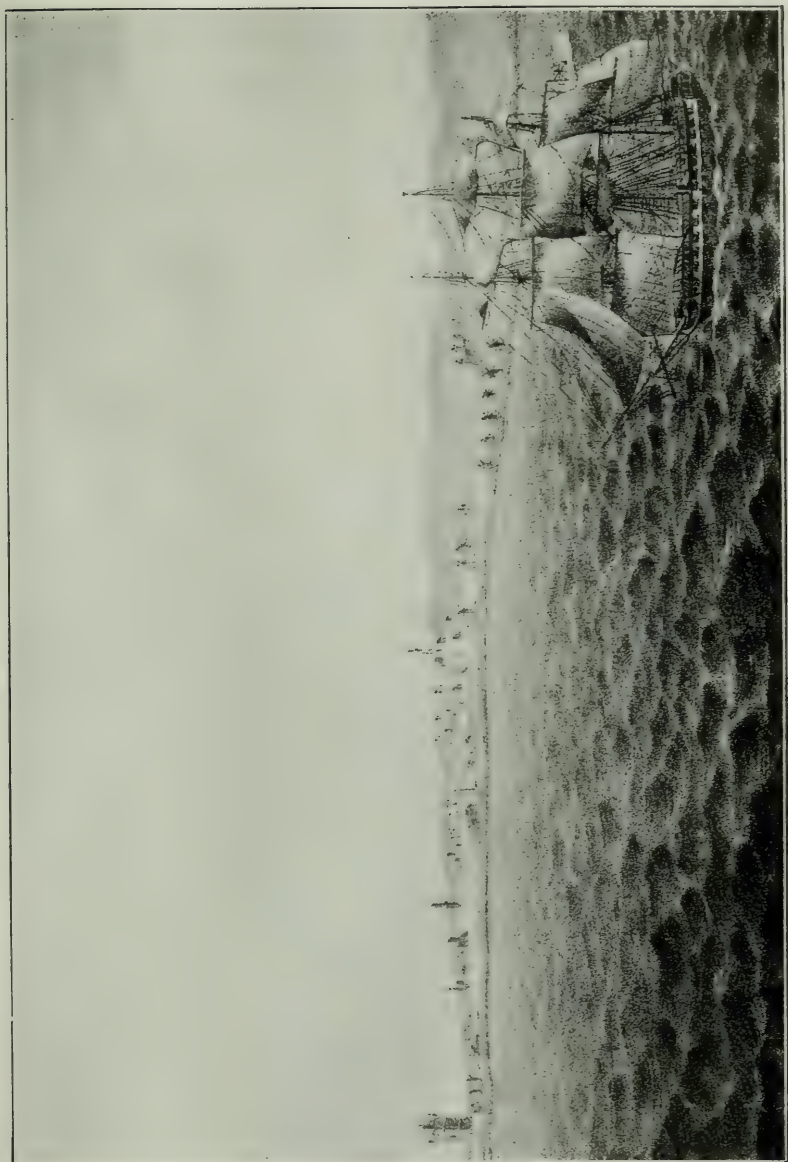
These services were greatly appreciated by the Greeks, and the Second National Assembly, gathered in Astros (1823), unanimously approved of the application which the people of Casos presented and directed them to send it in for payment.

All this naval activity of the Casians, however, aroused the Turks, who sought the first available opportunity for suppressing it, and for recovering the command of the sea.² In fact, they accomplished their intention in June 1824, when an Egyptian fleet of seventeen ships under the command of Ismael Gibraltar Pasha, with 3,000 Albanians on board under the immediate orders of Hussein bey Djeritti, was sent against Casos. The island, though surrounded, set up a great defence, and obliged the enemy after an ineffectual cannonade to withdraw, which aroused great joy amongst the population, and caused them temporarily to neglect all precautions. But very shortly the Egyptians reappeared by night and succeeded in landing at a spot of

¹ Colonel Gordon gives the figure as thirteen, and adds that the Cassiotes, selecting three, which they filled with booty, carried them off, abandoning the others. He reports also that "they left untouched a bark containing goods, which they knew by the mark to belong to Europeans, a rare instance of respect for neutral property" (*Hist. of the Greek Revol.* Vol. I. p. 471).

² According to Gordon, at that time Casos had about 12,000 souls and could put 3,000 men under arms (*History of the Greek Revolution*, Vol. II. p. 130).

Finlay estimates the population of the island at 1,500 families, or 7,000 souls, and its naval force at fifteen square-rigged vessels exceeding a hundred tons and forty smaller ships (*A History of Greece*, Vol. VI. p. 167).



THE ENGLISH WARSHIP "SERINGAPATAM" OFF RHODES

[*Rottiers.*

the island called Antiperatos, where the treachery of a renegade is reported to have enabled them to find a footing. The small garrison of six men, taken by surprise, fought to the last, but was overwhelmed. The almost unapproachable nature of the steep coast had made the Casians keep so small a garrison in that locality. Thus the enemy was able to take the defenders by surprise in the rear with superior forces, seize and plunder Casas, and destroy her ships.

The sequel was a cruel massacre, in which many thousands were butchered, and about 2,000 young women and children seized. These were, according to Gordon and Finlay,¹ conveyed to the slave-markets of Egypt and Syria. Some few, helped by a handful of Cretans who had assisted in the defence, escaped from the grasp of the Moslem, and took refuge in Syros, Paros, Myconos, Naxos, Ios, and elsewhere, and returned to their heavily-stricken island with those who were freed sixteen years after its devastation.²

The greater part of the islands of the Dodecanese which participated with full-heartedness in the great struggle for national freedom formed part of the new free Hellenic State, and governors and functionaries of the Central Government were appointed in them. Instances of this incorporation are the Anteparchia of Symi, Episcopi (written Telos) and Nisyros, of which the governor (*ἀντέπαρχος*) was John Psarakis, the island of Carpathos, which was joined with the Eparchia of Santorin, and Calymnos, Leros, Icaria and Patmos, which were annexed to Samos.

¹ Gordon, *History of the Greek Revolution*, Vol. II. p. 130. Finlay, *A History of Greece*, Vol. VI. p. 167.

² The descriptions of this great Greek calamity do not tally in all the details, so I have adopted a version which I combined from the writings of the most reliable authors, and in consonance with information which I was personally able to gather.

The official documents and patents bore the insignia of the Greek state and received full international recognition, as can be seen in the archives of Symi, Calymnos and other islands. Unfortunately, and to the great disappointment of the inhabitants, these islands were returned to Turkish rule by the protocol of the London Foreign Office (February 3, 1830) when the frontiers of the Greek state were determined.

In compensation for the island of Euboia, which was given to Greece, the Dodecanese had then to be given up.

The Greek Senate addressed a memorandum answering the protocol, and calling attention to certain points, amongst which was the delimitation of the Greek frontier and the bitter question of the fate of the Dodecanese. "With what eyes must these islanders, the first defenders of the Cross, have seen themselves fall back again into bondage, whilst their companions in arms were given freedom! This exclusion of the islands of Rhodes, Casos, Icaria, Patmos, Leros, Calymnos, Astypalaia, Carpathos and others would force the veterans of the war to emigration and deep despondency."¹

Meanwhile, as it appears from correspondence between Capodistrias and the notables of Symi, the Dodecanesians also despairingly protested against the decision of the powers for their exclusion, which threw them back into the arms of barbarism, and far away from the beloved Motherland, which had just been liberated. They also made known on repeated occasions their whole-hearted devotion to Greece, and their tenacious affection for the soil of these inalienably Greek islands, for though tempting alternative lands were offered to them in the redeemed state, they yet preferred to incur the further

¹ Stephanop. J., *Les Îles de la Grèce*, p. 157.

risk of a tyrannical yoke rather than abandon their native land and that of their distant forefathers.

This in a way reminds us of an incident in the life of Confucius, the light of China : “ Confucius ¹ saw a woman weeping by a tomb, and, feeling sympathy for her, he sent a disciple to ask the cause of her grief. ‘ You weep,’ said the messenger, ‘ as if you had experienced sorrow upon sorrow.’ ‘ I have,’ said the woman. ‘ My father-in-law was killed here by a tiger, and my husband also, and now my son has met the same fate.’ ‘ Why, then, do you not move from the place ? ’ asked Confucius. ‘ Because here there is no oppressive government,’ answered the woman. Turning to his disciples Confucius remarked, ‘ My children, remember this, oppressive government is fiercer than a tiger.’ ”

Nevertheless, the islanders were willing to suffer this oppressive government a little longer, always harbouring the hope that the foreign yoke would soon pass, and that they would not be obliged to break away from their sacred traditions and ancient homes.

The protecting Powers. The forcible return of the privileged islands to Turkey aroused the fanaticism of the Turks against their inhabitants, whom they continued in various ways to maltreat. This reduced the islanders to despair, and made them again appeal to Capodistrias for protection. He told them he would approach the admirals of the protecting Powers, but he also advised them to send envoys to Constantinople to appeal to the ambassadors of these Powers for support, to report their terrible position and to demand the restoration by the Sultan of their abolished privileges.

¹ Douglas, *China*, p. 11.

The records of the islanders are kept in the archives of the three great allied Powers, as reported to them by their representatives at the seat of war, and by Capodistrias, the first governor of Greece, though many documents and patents bearing the insignia of the Hellenic State and their visa by the consuls can still be seen in the archives of the islands.

After this exclusion of the privileged Dodecanese from the newly created Greek state their municipalities issued the patents in the name of the three protecting Powers, and the consuls of the latter countersigned them, which gives the impression that the twelve islands were under the protection of these Powers. This state of things continued until about the year 1836.

The support of these Powers came more clearly to light and was very effective during the negotiations of the delegates of the Dodecanese with the Turkish Government, because their ambassadors at Constantinople persuaded the Sultan Mahmoud II. to issue orders prohibiting the maltreatment of the islanders and restoring the privileges of which they had been deprived; for the ancient privileges of the islands had been taken away from them because they had failed to pay the *Maktou* to the imperial Ottoman Government, and had formed a part of the Hellenic state. Thus the Sultan, who had already accepted the new demarcation of the Greek kingdom, according to the protocol of London of the 9th July, 1832, consented also to issue a firman dated the 6th June, 1835, restoring and confirming the earlier privileges of these islands.

Again under the Turks. This firman constituted the charter of home rule of the islands of the Dodecanese which had previously enjoyed these privileges in common, and was addressed to Choukri Pasha, then

Governor-General of Rhodes, with the order to communicate its contents to the islanders, and invite their notables to fix the tribute (Maktou) which each island should pay again to the Turkish Empire.

As this firman embodies nearly all the elements of the previous firmans, and contains strange characteristics and stupendous claims, I have thought it well to reproduce such an important document here, and I have done my best to make it intelligible in spite of the very confusing nature of its French and Greek translations.¹

The firman runs thus :—

“ I,

“ King of Kings, Greatest of the Great, glorious amongst rulers, and very mighty Lord, most exalted and magnificent. . . .

“ To thee, my very wise Choukri Pasha, the appointed High Commissioner and Governor of Rhodes, and the Archipelago, by the grace of the Almighty, may thy happiness be perpetuated. By the present rescript, which thou must worship, know that the inhabitants of the islands of the Archipelago, Icaria, Patmos, Leros, Calymnos and the other Sporades, have already suffered every kind of evil, not having been properly protected, and of late they have been subjected to great injury, on account of the advent of malefactors, insurgents and pirates.

“ All this has come to my Imperial attention. And as all those of the subjects of my august Empire who show fidelity and devotion, such as also the inhabitants of those poor and arid islands, should repose in tranquillity in their beds, under my ægis, protected against all injustice and oppression, according to my praiseworthy and beneficent

¹ I have made all possible efforts to get a copy of the official translation of this firman, but fruitlessly, and I am assured by my old friend Mr. Chaviaras, who is an expert in these matters, that no such copy exists, nor the original of the firman. This explains the various versions of this firman in Greek.

Imperial decision, and as these islands during all ages were under the sway of Rhodes, and as they remained faithful and devoted to my supreme Empire, for all these reasons it is just that they should be gratified by receiving my Imperial pity and magnanimity for their repose. Likewise, in confirmation of their rights, I order that for the future they shall annually pay an equitably determined sum for all taxation, without further cause for disquietude; that they shall be protected against all injustice and molestation, and all crimes of malefactors, insurgents and pirates, which is very urgent.

“Therefore, as long as the inhabitants of the above-named islands remain faithfully submissive and obedient, they will pay instead of taxation, and *in toto*, an annual sum of 180,000 piastres. This they will raise amongst themselves, according to their power, in equitable proportion, and from the first of March of the present year they will send to the authorities of Rhodes, whose duty it will be to protect them against all crimes, oppression or ill-treatment.

“By the present rescript I likewise command that neither the authorities of Rhodes nor anyone else shall have the right to intervene in their affairs; but that criminal and private affairs which might arise shall be regulated according to their opinion and their pleasure, and in consonance with local customs. At the same time they will send representatives to Rhodes, chosen by the same subjects of my mighty Empire, faithful and good men, to defend their affairs.

“To this end a magnificent and glorious Imperial rescript has been promulgated, and I order thee to act according to it. Also know, my glorious Vizier, that the above-named islanders, not having taken part in movements against the empire, and having remained faithful and submissive, will pay, annually and for ever, two defined contributions

(Maktou) as their tribute, which they will betimes deposit in thy hands. No other demand can be laid upon them, either by thee, or by any other, but thou wilt protect them from malevolent corsairs.

“ Know at the same time that their affairs will be regulated and determined according to their decision, by men whom they will themselves designate every year in public assembly, and whose names they will notify to thee, as well as the names of their commissaries who will reside at Rhodes. Copies of this firman shall be placed in the hands of my here-named faithful Rayas, in order to enable them personally to acquaint themselves with my august and beneficent rescript. Such is my decision and Imperial Decree, act in conformity with it, avoiding all contrary action. For this purpose the present worshipful rescript has been published, and I command that all shall obey it. Know that it is such, and be convinced, when faced by my sacred signature.

“ Given at the seat of Beatitude, the 15 Djemal-Ul-Evel, 1251.” (A.D. 1835.)

In accordance with this firman the Governor of Rhodes invited the notables of the islands to come to Rhodes to take cognisance of it, and settle the tribute which each island was to pay, and punishments were threatened if they did not conform.

The convention concluded between them and the Governor was that the state tribute should be annually paid, without any increase, and that the administration of the islands should be again carried on according to their own ancient laws and customs.

The privileges of the islands, which were again secured by this firman, were also confirmed later by the famous firman Hatti Houmayoun of the Sultan Abdul Medzid on the 18th of February, 1856, by which

the Christians of Turkey were recognised to have equal rights with the Moslems, and the privileges once conferred were maintained. Moreover, it was guaranteed by the Great Powers in the stipulations of the Treaty of Paris in the same year.

The relations between Turkey and the privileged islands worked fairly smoothly after the issue of the firman of Mahmud and that of the Sultan Abdul Medzid, and the industrious populations in these islands prospered notwithstanding the infertility of the soil throughout the group.

The struggle for the privileges. But this prosperity and progress of the islanders attracted the envious eyes of some Pashas in Rhodes and other Turkish functionaries, who, intriguing with the Central Government, induced the latter at various times to attempt to reduce the value of the concessions, which according to the firman and other Imperial commands should have been permanent.

Therefore, when we approach the years of 1866-1867 we see the Turks beginning to interfere in the affairs of the islands, with the intention of bringing about an assimilation and equalisation of the system throughout the Empire, which amounted to the abolition of the autonomy which the privileged islands had till then possessed.

The first attacks were directed against Symi, which was always considered as the head of the privileged islands.

It was then that one of the most important uprisings of the heroic Cretan people broke out, and Turkey, either apprehending a spread of the insurrectionary spirit, or wishing to intimidate the Dodecanesians, sent a battleship with troops to Symi in August 1867. In command of this expedition was a certain Lachovary,

an official of Rhodes. Under the threat of a bombardment he installed a Kaimakam (a local governor) and attempted to call an assembly of the people, in order to induce them voluntarily to recognise the innovation. The Symiots strongly opposed this arbitrary action, and sent delegates to London, as they knew that England, which had always supported oppressed peoples, would listen to their appeal. Lord Stanley, then Foreign Secretary, made representations at Constantinople in response to their appeal. The consequence was that Lachovary was disowned, and the Imperial troops had to leave the island.

But the arrangement proved only temporary, because, the Cretan outbreak having been suppressed (1869) by Turkey, the Governor-General of the archipelago, Ahmet Caisarli Pasha, in person, with a large fleet, blockaded the island of Symi, landed troops, seized all the public buildings, and, on the natives refusing to recognise the appointed Kaimakam, cast some of their most important citizens into the dungeon at Rhodes. But as all the oppressive measures had no result, he decided to leave a considerable force in the island, himself going in person to instal the same authority at Calymnos, Casas and the other Dodecanesian islands.

The inhabitants of Calymnos, likewise showing the independent spirit common to all the islanders, refused to acquiesce in this encroachment on their privileges. They were therefore besieged for more than a month in the upper part of their town, where they had taken refuge.

England was again approached by delegates from the islands; and Lord Clarendon, who was then Minister of Foreign Affairs, intervened on their behalf, and communicated to them the answer of the Grand Vizier,

Aali Pasha, that the sole intention of the Sublime Porte had been to improve the administration of the islands, but that the fiscal system would remain as in the past.

But, as is well known, Turkish promises, whether verbal or written, do not amount to much; because soon after this official assurance, and the appointment of the Kaimakam, there followed the Turkish tribunals (1871), the Turkish Custom Houses (1874), the harbour controls, the police authority, payments for passports, taxes on salt, on spirits, on the sponge fisheries, etc. All these new violations of the privileges of the islands aroused bitter resentment amongst the people, and once more they sent representatives to Constantinople, to protest vigorously, both to the Porte and to the ambassadors of the Powers. The result of this action was that the islanders obtained some advantages, but they did not succeed in stopping the Turkish tendency to crush the islands and destroy their privileges.

Symi, which offered a most vigorous resistance to this administrative aggression, as mentioned in a memorandum of the Demogeronts of the Sporades, was blockaded for eighteen days in 1885 by Kemal Bey, Mutessarif of Rhodes, and an excellent poet of pan-Islamic feelings; he threatened to starve the inhabitants into submission, if they did not sign a declaration, gratefully approving of the new state of things, and if they did not agree to a census.

Kemal was recalled, as having committed violence and abuses in his administration, and he was replaced in 1892 by Akif Pasha, notorious for his Bulgarian massacres at Batak, which in England aroused a tempest of indignation.

The new governor aggravated the whole situation by his narrow-minded and unsympathetic attitude

towards the privileged islanders. He embodied in himself the worst features of the policy of Gildiz. In order to terrify the islanders and compel them to submit to the equalising tendency of his government, he sent an armed force to Symi to seize the notables of the island. He did not hesitate even to allow his soldiery to offend the natives in their churches on Christmas Day (December 25, 1892) by acts of profaneness at the moment of Divine service, and by dragging some of the principal citizens from the sacred edifice in order to cast them into prison.

Unfortunately for the natives of the Dodecanese, their protests at that time received little attention, because, as is stated by the Italian writer Vico Mantegazza, the ambassadors of the Great Powers at Constantinople had become mere diplomatic rivals, attempting to obtain the good-will of the Sultan for various concessions for their own governments and countries.

Abbedin Pasha, the successor of Akif, was in no sense an improvement. His administration resembled that of his predecessors, and he tried by all means in his power to extinguish the remaining privileges of the islands and level them with the other unprivileged peoples of the Empire. Calymnos, another stronghold of the privileges, had particularly aroused his hostility, and became the object of special persecution on his part, and of a military occupation.

This called for further representations to Constantinople, and a new appeal for intervention to the ambassadors of the Powers, and especially to the British Ambassador, Sir Nicholas O'Connor.

The spirits of the islanders were raised, when the revolution of the Young Turks broke out in July of 1908, as they hoped that under a constitutional Turkey (which announced that it would respect all statutes

and privileges) their sad position would pass away and better days would come. But these hopes were quickly dispelled.

It was in July of the next year (1909) that a telegram came from Constantinople to the Vali of the archipelago, which cancelled all the privileges of the Southern Sporades, and ordered that these should be assimilated administratively to the other provinces of the Empire. In consequence of this order, the Turkish authority in the twelve islands began to collect, by means of threats and imprisonment, taxes which had hitherto not been known in the islands; at the same time it was declared that Turkish, a tongue unknown to the natives, was to be the language used in official correspondence and before the tribunals. Further, each community was to draw up a list of young men for compulsory military service. To the islanders a decision of the Council of State was also communicated, by which the tribute Maktou comprised only the house-tax, the tithe, and the payment for dispensation from military service.

In other words, the situation created for them by the decision of the Young Turks destroyed all possibility of life in the rocky, dried-up and mostly sterile homes; and their adolescent man-power removed from the region would deprive the seafaring people of their livelihood.

Driven to desperation, they decided to adopt drastic measures of resistance, and fourteen leading men of the islands gathered at Symi (in October 1909) in order to consult together and consider what was best to be done.

This assembly of the representatives arrived at the decision to send envoys to Constantinople to lay their views before the Porte and to crave the intervention of the ambassadors.

At the same time Reschid Pasha, the Vali of the archipelago, recognising the islanders' claims, personally decided to go to Constantinople and support them. Such rare and independent initiative on the part of a Turkish functionary drew forth the gratitude of the natives.

After prolonged negotiations, in which the islanders had the sympathetic support of the British ambassador, the Turkish Government decided that the *status quo* should remain in force, and that a special commission should be sent to the twelve islands to examine the question of their privileges.

This decision was announced to the delegates of the Sporades in April 1910, and some months later, in November of the same year, the Grand Vizier communicated the following note to the Minister of the Interior :—

“ As the inhabitants of the Sporades have refused payment of the taxes, and as grievous consequences might follow any coercive measures on our part, we hasten to transmit to Your Excellency that until a definitive decision be taken on this subject we shall content ourselves with the payment of the single tax (Maktou) as in the past. And as they likewise refuse to submit to the conscription law, we shall devote our attention soon to finding means to put this matter in order.”

The belated decision did not appear for two years, and its contents were unsatisfactory, as might have been expected, because, as was made known unofficially, it proclaimed the total abolition of all privileges.

But this decision, which would have cast the natives into despair, never reached the island, for whilst the Turk was preparing the means for enforcing it, the Italian flag was hoisted over the ten islands of the privileged Dodecanese, as also over Rhodes and Cos.

PATRIOTIC EFFORTS OF DODECANESIANS

In the protracted struggle for the maintenance of the liberties and privileges of the islanders, many individual inhabitants of the Dodecanese manifested an enthusiastic zeal and a lofty patriotism such as has never been surpassed in the most glorious days of Greek history. Nor was that patriotic fervour confined to the men who remained in their rocky island-homes. Those whom the course of duty or ambition or the necessities of life led to reside in other parts of the world were constant in their thought and care for the country that gave them birth. Amongst the most active champions of the islanders' rights were two who lived in England, who both died a few years ago. They were D. N. Petrides of Symi, and N. E. Vouvalis of Calymnos. The former, who was ever prompt to take up the cudgels in defence of the islanders, was officially appointed by them as delegate as far back as 1867; whilst the latter, when he subsequently came to London, most heartily co-operated in the measures necessary to meet each fresh crisis. Worthy patriots, of whom the Dodecanesians are proud, they each established a flourishing business in London, where they won a reputation for commercial acumen and steadfast probity; but dearer to them than all else was the welfare of their beloved islands; and whenever the occasion demanded, they put aside all other occupation in order to make representations and solicit support for the redressing of the islanders' grievances. It was owing to the courage and energy of such men that the islanders—poor, weak, defenceless—were able to withstand and resist the encroachments and attempted oppressions of that ponderously powerful tyrant, the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER X

THE DODECANESE UNDER THE ITALIANS

The Italian landing on the Twelve Islands. Italy having gone to war with Turkey about Tripoli, and wishing to conclude the war, which had been prolonged beyond her intention, also desiring to have a base for provisioning and coaling her fleet, decided to occupy Astypalaia. The occupation was carried out on the 22nd of April, 1912, after the destruction of the wireless telegraph station near Smyrna.

For military purposes the Italians thought fit to extend their operations to other islands of the South Ægean Sea, and to expel from them all the remaining Turkish garrisons.

Political reasons also moved the Italians to act in this way in order to have a strong guarantee for any prospective peace negotiations and to give prestige and stability to the Italian Government by impressing on the people of Italy the good results of military glory.

The eminent Italian professor, Guglielmo Ferrero, writing on this historic¹ episode, says: "This occupation was nothing but a device for propping up Italian public opinion, which was becoming enervated, as had been done previously by the campaign in the press and by the bombardment of the Dardanelles at the time of the Italo-Turkish War."

For the purpose of the further occupation of the

¹ *La Guerre Européenne*, p. 294.

islands the Italians prepared an army corps fully equipped, and accompanied by a strong fleet. The army was under the command of General Ameglio, and the fleet under Vice-Admiral Amero. They had orders first to take Rhodes; therefore at dawn on the 4th of May, the Italian military forces were disembarked on the east coast of Rhodes in the Bay of Callithea, whence they marched to the immediate vicinity of the capital, and the next morning the Italian commander demanded its surrender. The Turkish garrison retreated to the interior of the island with the intention of carrying on a guerilla warfare, but the Turkish governor, with some of his staff, fell into the hands of the Italians, when trying to escape from Lindos.

The withdrawal of the Turks to Psinthos obliged Ameglio to combine with Amero in attacking these forces, and in this they were greatly helped by the Greeks in Rhodes, who by their thorough knowledge of the topography enabled them to avoid the ambushes prepared by the Turks, and led them by a route that took their enemy in the rear.

After a short resistance the Turkish garrison surrendered, and the Italian occupation of Rhodes was complete, for the Greek population showed great sympathy to the new-comers, whom they had reason to look upon as liberators and as good friends of their Hellenic race, and representatives of Christendom.

Whilst Ameglio was expanding his operations, an Italian squadron under Presbitero was ordered to occupy the islands Carpathos, Casos, Telos, Nisyros, Calymnos, Leros and Patmos. This was easily done, because the Greek population of these islands, animated by the same spirit as their brothers at Rhodes, enthusiastically hailed the Italian tricolor, and helped the disembarked



RHODIANS GUIDING THE ITALIAN TROOPS FOR THEIR ATTACK ON THE
TURKISH GARRISON AT PSINTHOS

[Zervos.



RHODIANS GIVING ADVICE TO THE ITALIANS DURING THE BATTLE OF PSINTHOS

[Zervos.

troops to capture the Turkish officials and small military garrisons.

After the occupation of Rhodes, the Italian possession of Cos, Symi and Chalki soon followed, and thus, almost without bloodshed, the whole of the Southern Sporades came into the hands of the Italians, an achievement which was entirely due to the enthusiastic support and sympathy of the Greek population. The attitude of the islanders roused the wrath of the Young Turks, who published in their press savage threats of what they would do to them on the conclusion of the Italo-Turkish War.

General Ameglio, acknowledging the cordial assistance which his armies had received from the Greek islanders, never allowed an opportunity to pass without expressing his gratitude and thanks to them, whilst also repeating his oft-made statement that the Italians only came as liberators of the islands from the Turkish yoke, and as temporary occupants of them. The Greeks accepted all these assertions with implicit faith, because they had also read the official proclamation which the general had issued on landing at Rhodes.

The proclamation was worded thus :—

“ Inhabitants of the Island of Rhodes,

“ Italy, linked with you by glorious recollections and a kindred civilisation, feels bound by the evolution of the war to proceed to the occupation of your island. By order of His Majesty, the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III., my august Sovereign, I enter into my civil and military functions amongst you, and I declare that though Italy is in a full state of war with the Government and the army of Turkey, she considers the peaceful population of Rhodes as friendly, and intends to give it the greatest possible proofs of good-will

and at the same time to affirm henceforth the highest respect for your religion, for your customs and your traditions.

May 4, 1912.

“(Signed) J. AMEGLIO,

“General-in-Chief of the Corps of Occupation.”

General Ameglio also officially made the following declaration to the Demogeronts of Rhodes :—

“The Sovereignty of Turkey over the island of Rhodes and the other islands is now at an end, on account of the provisional occupation of these islands by Italy, and the inhabitants can certainly count on their complete autonomy in the future.”

The same general, on visiting the Metropolitan of Rhodes, Mgr. Benjamin, made the following statement, which was also heard by the whole Demogerontia :—

“I assure you in the most formal manner that at the end of the Italo-Turkish War, the islands provisionally occupied by Italy will have an autonomous form of government. This I declare to you as a General and a Christian, and you may place reliance on my words as you do on the Gospel.”

It was the same officer who in his proclamation read at Rhodes before thousands of citizens assured them that :—

“Whatever might be the fate of the islands, Italy in any case would not permit by any pretext that such a large mass of Greek civilised people should again come under the barbarous Turkish yoke.”

In almost similar terms the Italian Rear-Admiral, E. Presbitero, addressed (May 12, 1912) the inhabitants

of Calymnos, informing them that the Ottoman authority had ceased over their island, which would be autonomous under the surveillance of the Italian Government, and wishing to all its noble inhabitants a new prosperity and happiness.

The same officer, addressing a further proclamation to the Demogerontia of this Island (May 12, 1912), announced amongst other things that:—

“ All Ottoman authority having been abolished, the Turkish flag will never again float over the island.”

And the Vice-Admiral Amero d'Aste Stella, in documentary form, gave the same assurance to the Demogerontia of Symi (May 19, 1912), expressing himself in the following terms:—

“ Your island having been freed from the Turkish domination, We, Rear-Admiral Amero d'Aste Stella, confirm you in your official capacity as mayor of the island.

“ You will consequently be responsible for internal order and the regular progress of the public services.”

The other islands of the Dodecanese were in the like way encouraged and assured that the Italians came as liberators, announcements which occasioned universal jubilation and caused the islanders to accord a very hearty reception to them.

The islanders saw in the Italians not only liberators but also the harbingers of their much-desired union with Greece, their Motherland.

Shortly afterwards, when some fears began to develop amongst the people, the general again attempted to reassure the leaders, as is shown by the following address he delivered to the inhabitants of Calymnos:—

“The Christian inhabitants of the islands who fear a return to Turkish rule have nothing to fear; because Italy, having the conscience of her moral obligations, will have the power to maintain integrally their rights, and in this spirit she will see that the future of the occupied islands is safe.”

The Congress at Patmos. Strengthened by all these declarations and assurances, the islanders decided to send delegates to meet at Patmos, a holy ground in the eyes of the natives, for the purpose of discussing the future of their islands.

On the 17th of June, 1912, these representatives met in the Church of the Monastery of the Apocalypse, and unanimously passed the following resolution:—

“The federation of the islanders of the *Ægean* . . . consisting of the representatives of the islands occupied by the Italians, gathered in the Church of the Monastery of the Apocalypse of Saint John the Evangelist in conformity with the mandate which they received and the wish of the mandatories, hereby—

“I. Express to the brotherly Italian Nation, her King and her Government, the infinite gratitude of the aforementioned islands for having delivered them from the intolerable yoke of the Turks.

“II. Proclaim the firm determination of the people of these Christian islands to undergo any sacrifice rather than return under the frightful tyranny of the Turks.

“III. Proclaim the permanent national wish of the *Ægeans* to be united with their Mother Country, Greece.

“IV. Proclaim the complete autonomy of the liberated islands, based on the official documents and the verbal statements of General Ameglio, on the proclamation of the Admirals commanding

the powerful Italian fleet, as well as on their acquired privileges of self-government, and on the doctrine that a country once delivered from the Turkish domination shall never return to it.

“ V. Name the whole of the liberated Islands ‘ Ægean State.’ ”

“ VI. Give as symbol of this State a blue flag intersected in the middle by a white cross and, as emblem, the portrait of Appollon Helios.

“ VII. Consecrate as laws of the State, the laws and the particular customs of each community, besides the laws of our free Greek brethren.

“ VIII. Solicit support of the present decree from the benefactrix Italy, and from the other civilised Powers, and also their good-will for the recognition of the Ægean State.

“ IX. Postpone for the time being their resolution for the election of the supreme chief of the State, as also that of the legislative council.

“ X. Provisionally suspend their labours and charge MM. Th. Olympitis, merchant, G. Drakidis, lawyer, and N. Petrides, merchant, to transmit a copy of the present decree to General Ameglio, Commander of the Italian Army at Rhodes. They will ask him to make their resolution known to H.M. the King of Italy, to the Chambers of the liberal and glorious Italian Nation, and to the Royal Government of Italy, and at the same time to hand over copies of this decree to the Governments of the other great Powers.

“ Signed on the 4th of June (O. S.), 1912,

“ The Representatives of the Ægeans.”

(Here follow the signatures of the representatives and the names of the islands to which they belong.)

Besides this, memoranda—three in number—were drawn up by the Dodecanesians living in Greece and

Egypt, and were submitted to the representatives there of Greece and of the Great Powers.

These memoranda vividly and lucidly described the Turkish misgovernment and the appalling experiences of the islanders, and concluded by asking for union with Greece; and, in the event of this being found absolutely impossible, the complete independence of the islands was proposed in the form of a federation.

Of these memoranda, the first was issued at Athens on the 25th May (7th June), 1912, the second also at Athens on the 9th (22nd) June, 1912, and the third at Alexandria on the 1st (14th) June, 1912.

At that time there was reason to believe that a large part of the Italian people was not unfavourable to the Dodecanesian independence, but it was certain that the Government's leanings were different.

The islanders could see this by many signs which developed at that time.

Change of the Italian attitude. General Ameglio, on learning the contents of the resolution taken in the Congress of Patmos, immediately altered his attitude. He broke up the Congress, arrested some of the representatives, prohibited public meetings, remonstrated with the leaders of the communities, who had been ordered to appear before him, for their patriotic ideas and their aspirations for autonomy. At the same time he renewed his promises that Italy would never abandon the islands to the Turks under any circumstances whatever. Subsequently, however, he introduced many unexpected and illiberal restrictions. Likewise special pamphlets, articles published in newspapers and magazines, as well as books, appeared in Italy, emphasising the importance of the Italian claims and interests in the Eastern Mediterranean, and in all these writings various

arguments were put forward for reviving alleged ancient rights in these islands, and evoking public opinion for the Imperialistic policy.

An example of the sort of thing then written, is given in the following words written by the Italian Senator Carafa d'Andria in an attractive book¹ about the twelve islands of the Ægean Sea:—

“ With regard to the fate which these islands expect, I cannot prophesy. . . . But apart from any other aspect of the matter, if justice and historical right have any weight, civilised people will not forget that Italy has a greater extension of coasts in the Mediterranean than France, which has acquired an immense power in these seas, and greater than England which, though it has its capital far away, nevertheless dominates all the waterways of the Mediterranean (Gibraltar and Suez) and all the most important islands in it (Malta and Cyprus) as well as Egypt, and all this solely for the purpose of maintaining ascendancy over the route to India.

“ And our country has certainly the right to live in these seas, where the sailors meet on all coasts, on every island and rock, the traces of Rome and the Lion of Saint Mark, and the recollections of Saint George and of all the glorious marine republics of Italy.”

Great also was the disappointment and surprise of the Dodecanesians on hearing that their envoys M. Veniamin and M. N. Calavros were not received at Rome by the authorities in June 1912. The measures of the Italian Government, daily becoming more and more oppressive, increased the apprehensions of the Dodecanesians, and made their life very hard.

¹ Faccioli, *Le Isole del' Egeo, Brevi cenni* (at end).

Many emigrated to escape the hardships of existence in the islands, and by this emigration the population was greatly diminished, and Dodecanesians can now be found in nearly all parts of the world, but principally in Greece, Egypt and America. At the same time general alarm prevailed in the Ægean concerning the future.

The islanders soon learned that they had good reasons for their disquietude, for the Balkan War, which had broken out at the end of September 1912, resulted in the Treaty of Lausanne (Ouchy: Oct. 15, 1912). This covenant, formulated between Italy and Turkey, gave back the Dodecanese to the latter, under the proviso that Italy should temporarily retain the islands as a pledge that Turkey would properly carry out the Treaty's stipulations.

The Balkan War. Thus all the official Italian promises had melted into thin air. All the reliance of the Dodecanese had been misplaced, its few remaining illusions were exploded, and the islanders were cast into the deepest despondency, the more so because the Greek fleet, which during the Balkan War successfully freed from Turkey all the other Greek islands of the Ægean Sea, was unable to act in favour of the Dodecanese on account of the presence of the Italians, who were thus policing these territories for Turkey.

Notwithstanding this dismay and bitter disappointment, the Dodecanesians did not refrain from taking an energetic part in the wars of liberation, an attitude which the local Italian authorities did not tolerate, and an effervescence began which was enhanced by the victories of the Greeks and their allies. At the same time a discussion on the subject of the Dodecanese occurred in Rome, and the Prime Minister of Italy, Signor Giolitti,

made an important declaration¹ on the 4th of December, 1912. He said that Italy had occupied the Dodecanese for military purposes during the Tripolitan War, and that she could not honourably retain the islands after the end of the war without it appearing that she, in opposition to her national sentiments, was in the position of holding in bondage an entirely civilised Greek people, and thereby of establishing a pure irredentism. With regard to the restitution of the islands to Turkey, Italy, he said, had provided for that when all the stipulations of the Treaty should have been fulfilled by Turkey and with guarantees for the inhabitants.

This speech left no doubt as to the attitude of official Italy and seemed to conflict with the assurances repeatedly given to the islanders by the naval and military authorities of Italy in the occupied islands, and was a revelation of the promise which Italy had given the Austro-Hungarian Government, secretly and confidentially, about the provisional nature of the Italian occupation of the Dodecanese, which would come to an end at the termination of hostilities between Italy and Turkey.

Therefore the people of the Dodecanese answered this by large gatherings at which they unanimously repeated their wish to be an integral part of Greece, as follows :—

“ Our steadfast and immutable determination is to unite with Greece, our Motherland, at all costs. This reunion is our unique, natural and paramount desire, and the only solution that will ensure to us lasting peace, prosperity and progress. We repudiate every other solution.”

¹ Kebedgy, *Les Îles de la Mer Égée*, p. 19. *Corriere della Serra*, December 5, 1912.

These resolutions of the Dodecanesians, drawn up between the 18th of December, 1912, and the 3rd of February, 1913, were brought before the British Foreign Minister, Lord Grey (then Sir Edward Grey), Signor Giolitti, the Italian Premier, and Mr. E. Veniselos, the Greek Premier, as well as before the London Conference of the Ambassadors of the Great Powers, and the Peace Conference of the Balkan States in London.

All these efforts on the part of the Dodecanesians proved again unavailing.

Italy maintained that local fighting in Tripoli was encouraged by Turkey; it gave her the opportunity to prolong her hold on the Dodecanese; but this was soon shown to be a pretext and diplomatic manœuvre, by which that great Power was intending to annex the islands on the first favourable occasion.

The Turks continually protested against the Italian arguments for retaining the Dodecanese, and mutual recriminations continued until the great world war broke out during the summer of 1914.

Some months after, on the 26th of April, 1915, Italy concluded the secret treaty of London with the Entente Powers, which gave her certain territories in compensation for her entering into the war on the side of the Allies, and amongst these clauses there was one according to which "Italy shall obtain all the twelve islands now occupied by her in full possession."

Thus the Dodecanese, inhabited from the most remote times by Greeks, was again cast under the rule of a foreign State, and underwent all the evils consequent upon laws imposed by a foreigner and directed to eradicate Hellenic feelings in the people and govern them against their will.

The natural consequence of these measures was that

the islands became still more depopulated, and thousands either voluntarily emigrated to escape the miseries of their home, or were compulsorily expelled.

The Great War. But the Dodecanesians, notwithstanding their depressing circumstances, did not quite give up their hopes. They clung to their faith in the Divine Providence, recollecting the clear and emphatic advice which they received long ago from Capodistrias, Governor of Greece, when, to the agony of the whole population of the Sporades, these islands were rendered back to Turkey :—"Live in peace, trusting in the Divine Providence which will surely not forsake you."

And truly Providence did not abandon them. As the great struggle proceeded, assuming world-wide dimensions, the islanders temporarily forgot their troubles. As they saw the Central Powers to be threatening the freedom of the peoples, the old love of liberty which had always inspired them flashed forth again, and, ardently following the policy laid down by M. E. Veniselos, they went in thousands to fight on the side of the Entente, in the ranks of their brothers and of the allied armies.

Besides those who fought and shed their blood in the mighty struggle, there were thousands of others, old men, women, boys and girls, who, being outside the ranks of war, gave their zeal and energy to help in the munition factories, in the depots, and wherever need called them. The forty-five commercial steamships of the Dodecanese were offered to the service of the Allies, which was a valuable assistance of 125,000 tons; money was contributed freely for the purposes of the war, and a Committee expressly appointed by the Dodecanesians eagerly asked the Allied Governments for a regular mobilisation of the population of the

Dodecanese, with a view to offering their best to the hard-pressed Allies.

Besides this, the numerous Dodecanesians living in Greece formed a General Assembly on the 24th of February, 1918, from which they elected fifty members of the most distinguished men of the islands, to form an Association at Athens, under the name "*Association of the Dodecanesians*," and empowered it to take such measures as would best promote the national rehabilitation of the Dodecanese.

Boundless enthusiasm surrounded the Association. The rich gave of their fortunes, others offered their services, and all the Dodecanesians, whether in the islands or in Egypt, in America or in Europe, by documents, telegrams, and plebiscites, supported it in all its patriotic actions. This Association did its best to advance the national object of the twelve islands, by laying their age-long rights before the representatives of the allied and associated Powers, by renewing their request for a general mobilisation, by helping the Greek Government to ameliorate the lot of the refugees in Greece, and by relieving the wants of the Dodecanese.

And when the Armistice came (November 11, 1918), and the triumph of the Allies was secured, the Association on the 19th of October, 1919, elected five delegates with equal powers and with definite instructions to proceed to Paris and London and endeavour by all suitable means to secure the union of the Dodecanese with Greece, which had already been unanimously proclaimed by the Association.

Of these four, by name George Antoniou, solicitor; Paris Roussos, shipowner; Skevos Zervos, physician, and Michael D. Volonakis, professor, went to their destination, and both in collaboration and separately

they presented the national aspirations of their mandatories in Memoranda to the Conference of Peace in Paris and London, and by pamphlets and articles in the same capitals they tried to make the hopes and wishes of their countrymen known to the public.

They also presented to the Conference new plebiscites, voted by assemblies of the islanders, and signed by thousands of inhabitants who attended at those meetings.

The delegates were also compelled to denounce to the Conference the excesses of the local Italian authorities at Rhodes and the other islands, and to ask for the provisional occupation of the Dodecanese by the Greek forces in order to obtain relief for the people until the final settlement of the question by the Conference.

The advent to power of Signor Nitti and that of Signor Tittoni as successor to Baron Sonnino in the Foreign Office of Italy promised much for the just and reasonable conclusion of the Dodecanesian question.

The lofty principles proclaimed by President Wilson and the Allied Governments crowned the war with immortal triumph, and led to the Italian annexation of the Trentino and Trieste. The same principles should also be recognised in the case of the Dodecanesian islands, whose claim to freedom is much older, and the withholding of which, as M. Veniselos pointed out, would cause constant friction between two peoples who ought to be able to work in close collaboration in the future, as they had done in the past.

Signor Tittoni came to Paris as President of the Italian delegation at the Conference, and he thought that his principal duty was to come to an understanding with M. Veniselos about the Dodecanese and other impending matters concerning both countries.

All these negotiations are well known to the world,

as they are matters of yesterday only. They secured the immediate cession to Greece of the eleven smaller islands and that of Rhodes after five years.

England followed all these negotiations with great interest and sympathy, and heard with profound satisfaction the statement which Signor Nitti made at the Conference of London (January 1920), over which Mr. Lloyd George presided.

This statement announced that an agreement for the cession of the Dodecanese had been concluded between Italy and Greece, which was signed by M. Veniselos and Signor Tittoni.

But although the question of the Dodecanese seemed finally settled, a change of Government in Italy appeared to threaten a total change of policy towards peace, and consequently towards the question of the twelve islands.

This was strange to many persons, for even Signor Giolitti, who came again into power at that time, had stated, as we have seen, that Italy could not keep in bondage a civilised Greek people, as to do so would be against the Italian traditions.

M. Veniselos, seeing that the new Italian diplomacy was tending towards retention of the islands, withheld for some weeks his signature from the Turkish treaty, and England, feeling herself somewhat affected by this new attitude of Italy, intervened, with the result that the final step after many daily discussions, was taken.

The Treaty of Sèvres. The clauses contained in the following protocol signed by Italy and Greece at Sèvres on the 10th of August, 1920 (the same day that the Turkish treaty was signed), transfer to Greece ¹ the islands

¹ Greece was represented by the President of the Greek Government, M. Veniselos, and M. Athos Romanòs, Minister of Greece in Paris, and Italy by Count Lelio Bonin Longare, ambassador of Italy in Paris, and Mr. Carlo Galli, consul of Italy.

occupied by Italy, Rhodes alone being conspicuous for her absence from the list.

But a clause in this treaty provides that two months after its signature a liberal measure of autonomy shall be granted to Rhodes by Italy, and that after fifteen years, should England have decided to restore Cyprus to Greece, Italy shall take upon herself the full responsibility of allowing the population of Rhodes to determine by a plebiscite whether the island is to be annexed by Greece or by Italy.

Wishing to go further into this important matter, we here insert the articles of the Italo-Greek treaty which throw fuller light on it:—

Article 1. Italy renounces in favour of Greece all rights and titles to the islands of the Ægean Sea occupied by her, viz. Astypalaia, Chalki, with Alimnia, Carpathos, Casos, Episcopi, Nisyros, Calymnos, Leros, Patmos, Lipsos, Symi, and Cos, as also all the islets which depend on them.

Article 2. The island of Rhodes with the dependent islets will remain under the sovereignty of Italy, which will grant them a broad local autonomy within two months after the ratification of the present treaty. The Greek communities of the island will have full and absolute right to found and maintain religious establishments, under the control of the Œcumenical Patriarchate. Italy undertakes to guarantee the free functioning of all these institutions; and she also undertakes to permit the population of Rhodes to express their wish freely as to the fate of the island in the event of England deciding (*le jour où l'Angleterre prendrait la décision*) to give Cyprus to Greece. In any case the inquiry as to the opinion of the people of Rhodes will not take place before the lapse of fifteen years after the signing of the present treaty. At that date the League of Nations will lay down

the conditions on which the people shall take part in the plebiscite.

In subsequent articles, Greece undertakes¹ to refund to Italy all expenses incurred in works of a permanent nature and of public utility erected in the islands, such as roads, ports, public buildings, schools, etc.

The Ottoman subjects² in the islands which are transferred to Greece through this treaty will become Greek subjects. All persons above the age of eighteen will have the right of choosing Ottoman or Italian nationality during the year of the coming into force of the treaty with Turkey. All those who have already legally obtained Italian nationality will be exempted from such a declaration. To all the inhabitants³ of the islands the Hellenic Government shall guarantee the rights which are provided by the treaty for the protection of minorities.

Greece grants to the Italian Archæological School in Athens the right for fifteen years to undertake excavations at the shrine of Asclepios in Cos. Greece gives also to Italy for fifteen years a preference over all other foreign nations in regard to archæological researches and excavations in the islands ceded.

All these archæological enterprises should be undertaken and carried out according to the provisions of Greek law.⁴

The entry into force of this treaty is contemporaneous with that of the peace with Turkey.⁵

The announcement of the signature of this covenant was followed by universal rejoicing on all sides. The Greek flag was at last permitted to fly over the eleven islands of the Dodecanese, and Te Deums were sung in the churches, and all hearty preparations were made

¹ Art. 3.

² Art. 4.

³ Art. 5.

⁴ Art. 7.

⁵ Art. 10.

to offer an enthusiastic reception to the Greek authorities who were expected to come and officially occupy the liberated islands.

Unhappily, this event has yet to come. The legitimate aspirations of the islanders are not yet satisfied, and though promises and declarations have been forthcoming and treaties have been signed, the alien authority still prevails in the islands.

This drew from the people of the islands further demands for immediate union with the Motherland, and when the Treaty of Sèvres was at stake more energetic steps were taken, and their only remaining delegate at the Conference in London, M. Volonakis, laid their views before the president of the Conference, Mr. Lloyd George. When, according to the same treaty, Castellorizzo was ceded to Italy by France before the official ratification, the same delegate approached once more the British Premier and the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Sforza, calling their attention to the fact that the Dodecanesian islands mentioned in the same Article 122 of the Treaty of Sèvres were to be given up to Greece at the same time and under the same conditions as Castellorizzo to Italy, and pointing out that such an act would show that justice is done to small nations as well as to large.

Meanwhile the Italian Governor of Rhodes and Castellorizzo, Sig. Maissa, issued a proclamation dated the 8th of October, 1920, in which it was announced to the inhabitants of these two islands that an administration granting them a large amount of autonomy had been arranged, and he explained it as follows:—

“ They will be governed by special regulations, which will consider all their traditions, customs and local wants, and which will aim at increasing the general well-being, protecting the commercial

intercourse, and developing both the agricultural and industrial production.

“The various religious communities, besides being allowed the full exercise of their worship, will be permitted to keep their churches and religious establishments, their schools and their existing philanthropic institutions, as also those which they contemplate building.

“In the administration, the local elements will be admitted as much as possible.”

These are the far-reaching liberties granted by Italy to the islanders, which strongly resemble those privileges which the Sultans guaranteed to their conquered Christian subjects centuries ago, and in the application of which the Governor appeals to the people for hearty collaboration.

The new Italian cabinet under Signor Bonomi aroused great hopes for the carrying out of the Italo-Greek treaty relating to the Dodecanese, and the Greek Premier, Mr. Gounaris, repeatedly made diplomatic efforts to the same end.

But the announcement by the new Minister of Foreign affairs, Marquis della Torretta, that the treaty would be “revised,” caused consternation in the islands, and this disquietude was intensified when Count Bosdari, erstwhile Governor of Rhodes and Castellorizzo, changed his title into that of “Governor-General of the Dodecanese and Castellorizzo.”

At the same time an alteration has been made in the form of passports, which now run “valid for one year only,” instead of “up to the cession of the islands to Greece,” as was the previous formula.

All these events have produced a tension in the feelings of the local population towards the Italian authorities, and an expression of this state of public opinion in the islands was the way in which Count

Bosdari was received by the inhabitants of each of the islands which he visited officially as Governor. Everywhere he was greeted with popular resolutions clamouring for union with their brethren of free Greece.

A direct consequence of these national demonstrations of the Dodecanesians was that Count Bosdari deemed it expedient to take the unprecedented step of expelling from his Metropolitan See the highly venerated Archbishop of Rhodes, Monsignor Apostolos. This action, whereby the interference of an alien authority was extended to the ecclesiastical status of the people, has caused deep dismay throughout Hellenism, whose prelates have always commanded respect even at the hands of the Turkish authorities.

But in spite of all these acts running counter to the noblest traditions of the Italian nation, the islanders do not despair. They have full confidence in the righteousness of their cause, and they hope that they will soon obtain justice, and that the treaty will be brought into effect.

Thus the Dodecanesians expect at any moment the accomplishment of the final act of justice on the part of Italy, when she will cede to their Motherland the eleven islands which have kept alive for thousands of years the fire of Greek life and character. After such a joyful realisation of their hopes, there can be no doubt that they will for ever cherish the memory of all those who, either by courage, perseverance, or wise statesmanship, will have helped to bring the islands back to the warm bosom of their Mother Greece and thus fulfil the burning desire with which the islanders have been animated for centuries.

The islanders are also not without hope that the

strong yearning of their Rhodian brethren towards union, helped by the enlightened diplomacy of Greece and by the best and most liberal spirit in Italy, may yet shorten the lapse of time which must run before Rhodes, too, becomes a member of the Greek kingdom.

Thus the historic rose of the *Ægean*, the protagonist of ancient freedom and the bulwark of Christendom, will be enabled to rejoin her eleven fortunate sisters, and add a very brilliant diamond to the diadem of resurrected Hellas.

PART III

DODECANESIAN CIVILISATION

CHAPTER I

RELIGION

I. The Ancient Gods

IN a group of Greek islands such as the Dodecanese it would be natural that the gods of all Hellenes should be their own gods as well. But this has not been entirely the case, because in the earliest ages we hear that their deities were either special to these islands or were adopted from Asia and modified almost to the extinction of the original.

This occurred in regard to the Titans, whose birth-place is given us as Carpathos; to Zeus Atabyrios, whose veneration was anterior to the coming of the Hellenes into Rhodes; to the Mother of the Gods, Rhea, who was a prominent goddess there during the pre-historic times; to Athena, whose worship was greatly celebrated at Lindos; to Heracles, likewise venerated at the same town; to Poseidon, principally worshipped at Ialysos; and, lastly, to the sun-god Helios, who was the chief god of Rhodes, because the island was consecrated to him, and he was considered as the originator of the Rhodian people.

But when the islanders came into closer touch with continental Greece and other parts of the Hellenic

world, other deities began to intrude into the islands, which at first caused war, as is revealed in the story of the struggle between the Olympian Zeus (who originated from Crete) and the Titans, and in the legend that the main field of battle of the gods was in the Dodecanesian islands, as mentioned in the fable of Nisyros.

The triumph of Zeus and his coadjutors shows that the worship of the Greek deities prevailed and replaced the older gods, but at the same time a recasting of the new religion was effected in the islands.

Echoes of that we find in the various legends connected with the theology of these islands, as some examples will show.

When Althaemenes came from Crete to Rhodes, he climbed Mount Atabyros to get a distant view of his native country, and having caught sight of it and still holding in memory the cult of the great island, he raised an altar (or a temple, according to Diodoros ¹) to Zeus Atabyrios, thus establishing the worship of the supreme sky-god of the Greeks in Rhodes, whose veneration on a mountain-top was a general habit throughout the rest of the Hellenic world, just as to-day is the worship of St. Elias.

When the second Althaemenes came from Argos with his colonists to settle in Rhodes, he likewise brought the worship of Lykeios Apollon ² with him, as also to Cos and Cnidos. But as this god was singularly adored by the Dorian race, his worship easily prevailed in the islands over the local supreme god Helios at Rhodes, and of the festivals celebrated periodically at the Triopian Cape by the Dorian exapolis (or pentapolis) this deity became the patron.

¹ V. 59.

² Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, p. 121.

In like manner the Epidaurians, on coming to Cos, brought with them the worship of the healing god Asclepios, and gave him a paramount position as god of the island, and it was owing to his temple or, better, sanatorium that the island became so prominent. The cult of this prince of physicians reached Rhodes and Astypalaia.

Through the march of time and the immense intercourse of the Rhodians with the outer world, the link which united the islanders with the other Greeks became stronger, and this union was strengthened still more by their devotion to gods common to all Hellas.

Thus the pious folk of the islands raised sanctuaries and temples in sacred veneration for all the leading Hellenic deities, such as Zeus, Hera, Athena, Apollo, Artemis, Demetra, Poseidon and Hermes, besides the inferior gods, Dionysos and Heracles.

But the adoption of the Pan-Hellenic theology did not, as it appears, entirely remove the old local cults in the islands. Some of them remained, and in the course of time some of the new gods appeared under new names.

Thus the Hellenic Zeus Atabyrios was worshipped on the mountain, and the bronze cattle, showing Hittite origin,¹ bellowed when any evil was approaching Rhodes, and the votive offerings were small brazen bulls. The worship of this god was soon extended to the Rhodian colony, Acragas, where the notorious bronze bull of Phalaris took to sonorous bellowing when a man was placed within and the fire was lit.

Zeus Atabyrios was also venerated at the acropolis of Rhodes. Zeus under various other additional names, such as Téleios, Patroös, Endendros, Polieus,

¹ Cook, *Zeus*, pp. 642 f.

was worshipped throughout the island. As Machaneus he was venerated in Cos, and as Soter in Symi.

Athena Lindia was worshipped with flameless sacrifices, and was venerated by peoples of various races over the sea, as well as by Lindians and the other Rhodians.

The erection of her temple was assigned to Danaos, as was also her wooden statue, but when this goddess was changed into the chaste and wise divinity, who sprang from the brain of Jupiter, in accordance with the Greek traditions, the Hellenic metamorphosis was complete, and her worship, under the designation of Athena Polias, was spread throughout the island. The same goddess was also venerated in Astypalaia and Symi, as the virgin goddess Artemis in Leros and Patmos, and Panakeia especially in Calymnos.

Amongst a seafaring people the worship of the sea-god Poseidon was a natural consequence, and from very early times it is reported that this god had a temple at Ialysos, and even that it was built by Cadmos, when the latter was saved from a storm, and that the service in the temple had been carried on by priests of Phœnician origin, which makes some think that the cult of this god had been derived from Phœnicia. These ideas are based on the statement of Diodoros¹ that the priests were chosen from time to time from the families of the Phœnicians left by Cadmos to be overseers of the sacred mysteries. The same god was likewise venerated at Carpathos,² Nisyros and Astypalaia.

Dionysos was one of the most beloved deities of the Rhodians, and his altar held the place of honour in the agora of the great city, his temple being the richest in votive offerings and adorned with the handiwork of the greatest masters of the arts.

¹ Diod. V. 58.

² Under the designation of Ποτειδάν πόρθμιος.

On the day of his festival (Dionysia) there were great games and processions, and sacrifices of lambs were offered. Devoted to him also was the festival called Pagladia,¹ on which the vines were trimmed. Another name of Dionysos amongst the Rhodians was Thyonidas.²

Hermes and Artemis also figured amongst the immortals under different names in Rhodes, Patmos, Leros, etc.

But after the foundation of the city of Rhodes the god prevalent throughout the island was undoubtedly *Helios*, and his worship seems to have lasted throughout the centuries before the spread of Christianity. The huge statue of the Colossos was an image of him, and the coins of the city of Rhodes were adorned with his head. His priest named the year, and his festival was kept in September with great splendour, and a team of four horses was cast into the sea as an offering of sacrifice to him.

But unique and noteworthy was the worship of Heracles at Lindos, for when sacrifice was offered to his honour, it is recorded that the priest during the service, instead of the good words ("Euphemia") which the Greeks usually pronounced during their prayers, uttered curses and anathemas in sequence. It was understood to be a *useless devotion* if one sweet expression was uttered during the services of this god. This gave rise to the saying, "Lindians at their sacrifice" or "Rhodians at their sacrifice,"³ which was employed when persons spoke bad language in a holy place.

A reason given for this extraordinary and repellent devotional demonstration was that Heracles once, on

¹ Hesych. *s.v.* παγλάδια.

² *Ibid.* *s.v.* Θυωνίδας.

³ "Λίνδιοι τήν θυσίαν," or "Ρόδιοι τήν θυσίαν."

arriving in the country, and being hungry, asked a husbandman to sell to him one of his two oxen; the man, needing them for carrying on his field work, declined the offer; Heracles therefore slew them both, and ate them, whilst the husbandman cursed him. Heracles thereupon laughed boisterously at the discomfited countryman.

On account of his virtues, Heracles was accorded divinity, and the people of Lindos raised an altar which they named Bouzygon, the Yoke of Bullocks, and on which they sacrificed a couple of these bovine victims in memory of the previous achievement of the god. It seems that this god wished to make the husbandman his priest, and he commanded that, when religious services were proceeding, his sacrifices should be accompanied by imprecations similar to those which had afforded him such boisterous merriment when devouring the kine. Assuming this to be correct, the rites of Heracles *βουθόινης*¹ (the *beef-eater*) have evidently been combined with those of the harvest festival, Bouzygia, at which a yoke of oxen was thus immolated.

The king of streams and rivers, Acheloös, is met with in Rhodes.

Arēs does not appear amongst the recognised deities of Rhodes. Aphrodite likewise is very rarely mentioned, which may be used as an argument against those who think that Phœnician influence had been prominent in the island. Entirely unknown also was Adonis, the beloved of this goddess.

On account of the close relations of the Rhodians with Egypt, the Egyptian gods Serapis and Isis were venerated from the fourth century B.C., and, in conclusion, we may add that amongst the heroes who were

¹ *Anthol. Plan.* 123; Torr, *Rhodes*, Vol. I. p. 78.

honoured in Rhodes, we have the names of Phorbas, one of the Heliadai and the destroyer of the serpents in Rhodes (like St. Patrick in Ireland), Tlepolemos, Althaemenes of Crete, and Aristomenes of Messenia; and amongst the heroines we have Hemithea, who worked wonders of healing,¹ Alectryona, and Helena, the famous wife of Menelaos, who was venerated under the name of Helena Dendritis (of the tree), on account of a legend which described her as having died in Rhodes, hanged by the handmaidens of Polyxo, the widow of Tlepolemos.²

II. Christianity

Its inception. St. Paul in the islands. The Dodecanese seems to have been amongst the first regions which felt the inspiration and enthusiasm of the early Christian movement, and from subsequent facts it is evident that its soil was ready to receive the new grain. Many writers have held the view that Christianity was first preached to the people of Cos and Rhodes by St. Paul himself, but this is an error, because we know from the Acts of the Apostles³ that a ship on its way to Lycia found Cos and Rhodes as ports of call, and on that ship St. Paul was travelling to the Holy Land. It is not stated whether he landed on these islands or not, and far less is it known whether he preached there. The probability is that pupils or other enthusiasts who had heard St. Paul preaching at Ephesos, where he stopped three years, carried the new doctrine over to the islanders, or some islanders, having come across St. Paul's teachings, brought them back to their homes

¹ Diodor. V. 62, and 63.

² Pausan. III. 19, 9, 10. See also another version of the legend given by Polyainos, I. 13.

³ xxi. 1.

in the islands, and so spread the new faith and established churches, having as spiritual guide and light the church at Ephesos founded by St. Paul.

St. John at Patmos. St. John, the beloved disciple of Jesus, came likewise to Ephesos a short time after the destruction of Jerusalem, and both here and elsewhere in Asia gave vigour and impetus to the new religion. This Apostle only can be considered as the original source of Christianity in the islands, as Patmos, where he was destined to spend an important part of his life, was the place where his sermons were delivered. St. John, referring to his residence in this island, says that he "was in the isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony to Jesus Christ."¹

About this residence of the Apostle in Patmos several questions arise. One is the cause which sent or prompted him to go there; the second is the length of his sojourn there; the third is, if sent for punishment by Roman authority, which authority was it and at what time did the banishment occur? The fourth question is, did he write the Revelation at Patmos or at Ephesos? The first is answered by the possibility that his associates at Ephesos may have advised him to leave that city and take shelter in the island, remote from the danger which threatened him as the most prominent teacher of Christianity during the persecutions of the Christians. This supposition presupposes a voluntary retirement to the island. But, on the other hand, the words of St. John which we have quoted above imply that he was compelled to go to this island as a place of punishment.

With regard to the question as to who may have sent him there, and when, two alternatives present themselves to us. He was either sent to Patmos by

¹ Revelation i. 9.

order of the Roman Emperor himself, or by order of the Roman Proconsul residing at Ephesos.

From Byzantine authors ¹ we learn that Domitian, during his great persecution against the Christians (A.D. 95), banished him to Patmos. There is even an addition to this narrative which tells us that before leaving Ephesos for Patmos, St. John was taken to Rome and there was immersed in boiling oil without sustaining injurious effects; on the contrary, the ordeal invigorated and refreshed him. There is also a narrative that he compulsorily took poison without suffering any harm.

Other writers have held the view that it was the Emperor Claudius (41-54) who exiled St. John, and yet again others think that this was the act of Nero. But both these last opinions seem doubtful, because St. John, as is well known, did not enter Ephesos until, as we said before, after the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70), and the seven churches, to which his Revelation is addressed, were not yet founded.

Accepting the first assumption, we see that St. John was then in advanced life, but there is proof that he lived much longer and died at a very old age.

But if, on the other hand, St. John was exiled there by the Proconsul of Asia at Ephesos, we must accept the hypothesis that this administrator substituted banishment for death, not willing to go to extremes against John, who had numerous supporters in Ephesos and throughout the province of Asia, however odious the new subversive Christian teachings, which struck at the very foundations of the state, may have appeared to this Roman head. In any case, facts seem to prove

¹ Michael Glycas, p. 445. Ioan. Zonar. Ann. XI. Vol. II. p. 504, and others.

that in Patmos, which was under the rule of the Proconsul, there can have been little control over the movements of St. John during his sojourn there. Indeed he seems to have been permitted to continue his divine mission in the island.

It appears, moreover, that Patmos was not a place of banishment for the Roman Empire, but, on the contrary, as Renan affirms, was a flourishing island. Juvenal wrote,¹ "Dare some little deed deserving of the little Gyaros and the gaol," where we see that Patmos is not mentioned. It would therefore seem reasonable to assume that Patmos, being near the Asiatic coast and a small island not far from Ephesos, was used either as a place of refuge or confinement for the Apostle.

The third question relates to the time during which St. John remained in the island. Here also there is a difference of opinion. Some tell us that he was there fifteen years, others say ten, whilst others say five or two. But as the persecution of the Emperor Domitian, who was the first emperor to style himself in public documents "Lord and God," broke out in A.D. 95, and John was exiled or retired to Patmos in that year, and as this emperor was assassinated in September 96, and the new emperor Nerva revoked, as is stated, the decrees of banishment,² St. John's exile or absence from Ephesos would appear to have lasted only about one year.

During this residence of the Apostle in that island he had the apocalyptic vision and heard the celestial voice which inspired him to write the Revelation. He wrote :

"I was in the Spirit on the Lord's day, and

¹ *Sat.* 1, 73.

² Michael Glycas, p. 446. Ioan. Zonar. p. 505.



[Geil.

THE MONASTERY OF THE APOCALYPSE (PATMOS): THE SPOT WHERE ST. JOHN WAS
INSPIRED TO WRITE THE APOCALYPSE

heard behind me a great voice, as of a trumpet, saying, 'What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia.' ”¹

This establishes beyond contention the fact that the Apocalypse was written by St. John at that period of his life in Patmos, and not during his subsequent residence in Ephesos, where he doubtless wrote the fourth and latest of the gospels.

For further reviewing of this matter we resign our pen to the theologians.

Further development of Christianity. The Hierarchy. After the Apostolic period, just described, we have no detailed reports of the development of Christianity in the islands, but it spread steadily onwards, and the old pagan altars seem gradually to have been overthrown without any disorder. Nor did the departure of the old gods' statues and votive offerings of art, amongst which was the Lindian Athena, the Chariot of Lysippos, etc., cause tears of unfathomable sorrow or heart-rending moans. These appear to have vanished from Rhodes, Cos, etc., obscurely, and to have reappeared in some ornamental pose in Constantinople or elsewhere. "Thus the mighty fall."

The exact date when the first ecclesiastically appointed Christian prelate took up his functions in Rhodes and her sister islands is not known, but we have knowledge of a certain hierarch, by name Euphranor, bishop of Rhodes, who deprecated a Gnostic sectarian group, the Severian heresy, whose objectionable teachings seemed to have already had some echo in the islands. It appears also that other heresies broke out at various times to disturb the peace of the Rhodian Church. These were the grievous wolves which entered

¹ Revelation i. 10, 11.

into the flock of Jesus, or the men who arose speaking perverse things to draw away the believers.¹

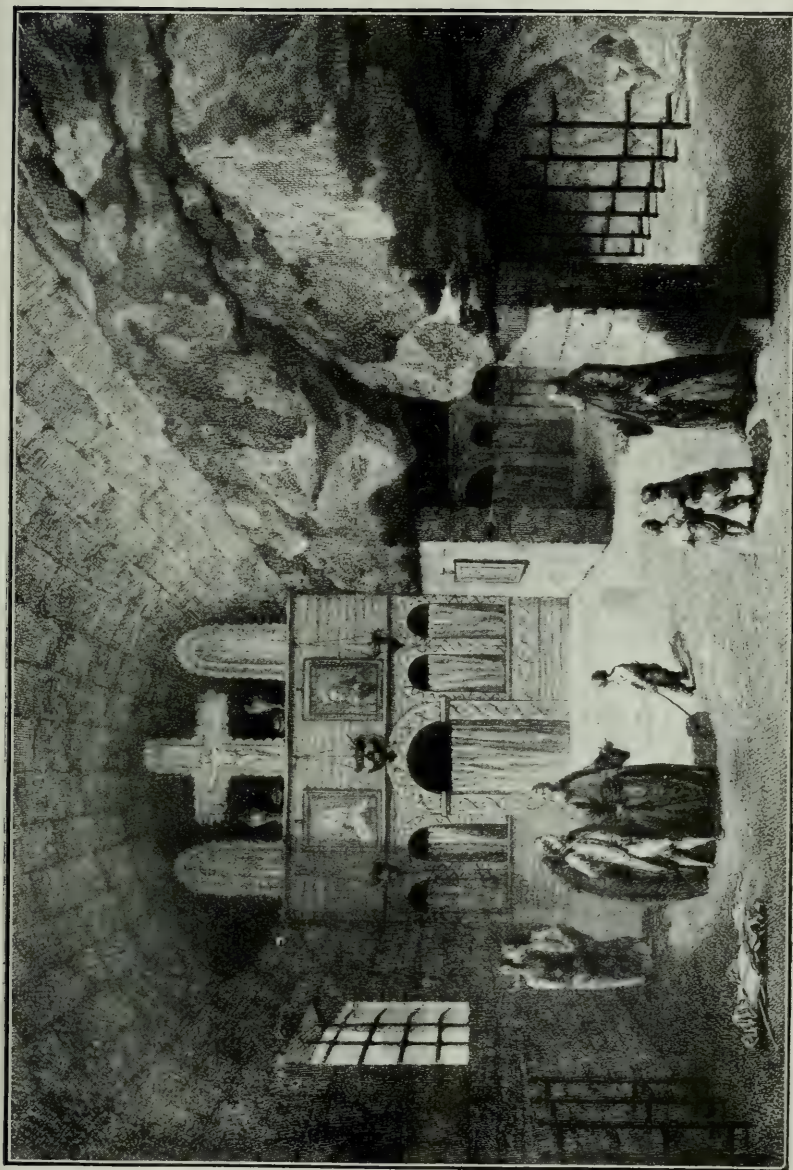
The first bishops established at Rhodes were of equal ecclesiastical rank with those of other islands of the archipelago, but the political pre-eminence of Rhodes amongst these islands soon secured an ascendant position to her bishop, because we find that in the historic Council of Nikaia, presided over by Constantine the Great himself (A.D. 325), the bishop of that island, Euphrosynos, was present, and his jurisdiction is described as Metropolitan of the province of the islands (*Rhodus insularum provinciæ metropolis dicitur*). Other bishops whose names are associated with the Greek Orthodox Church are Hellanicos, who was at the Council of Ephesos (431), Agapetos, whose advice in ecclesiastical matters was asked for by Leo I. (457), Emperor of Byzantium, and some others who took sides strongly in the great question of the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.

When Rhodes had become the metropolis of the islands under the Patriarchate of Constantinople, seventeen suffragan bishops were subject to its jurisdiction.

This See of the Metropolitan of Rhodes seems in course of time to have diminished in size, because in the treatise of Constantine Porphyrogenetos "On the Ceremonies of the Byzantine Court," we read that he is Primate in the province of the islands of the Cyclades, and that in this province the metropolis of Rhodes has under it cities, or bishops, twelve in number, namely, besides Rhodes itself, Samos, Chios, Cos, Naxos, Thera, Paros, Leros, Andros, Tenos, Melos and Pisyne.

In the same treatise another province of the islands

¹ Acts of the Apostles xx. 29, 30.



INTERIOR OF THE GROTTA OF THE APOCALYPSE (PATMOS)
(Taken from an old picture)

[Choisul-Gouffier.

of the Cyclades is mentioned, and therein the Archbishop of Carpathos is alluded to as independent.

At a later period Andros was withdrawn and Astypalaia, Icaria, Nisyros and Tracheia were added. Of these, the two bishoprics of Tracheia and Pisyne, or Pisyre, were in the Rhodian Peraia.

Of the bishoprics under Rhodes, some were detached in the course of time and some became extinct, the last to be separated being the bishopric of Lerne, which split off quite recently, at the end of the nineteenth century. It was then also that the bishopric was officially given the correct name, Leros.¹

Under the rule of the Knights a Latin Archbishop was established at Rhodes with suffragan bishops in the other islands, as in Cos, belonging to the same order. The title of this prelate was Archiepiscopus Colossensis, owing to a mistake, derived from the Byzantines, who thought that the letter of St. Paul addressed to the Colossians (Κολασσαεῖς) was really addressed to the Rhodians, whom they considered to be so designated because of the famous Colossos which stood in their great city.² Amongst the names of the Archbishops of Rhodes may be mentioned that of Andreas, who, though Latin in religious doctrine, was Greek by blood and had greatly contributed to the reunion of the Greek and Latin Churches in 1439.³

The Greek Metropolitan at Rhodes retained his title until 1474, when an agreement was come to between the Latin Archbishop Giuliano Ubaldini and the Greek Metropolitan Metrophanes.⁴ This concordat was confirmed by the Grand Master and the Knights, and by this arrangement the Latin Archbishop took the title

¹ D. Chaviaras : Ἡ Σύμῃ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. διοικ. καὶ ἡ Ῥόδος.

² Cf. Eust. *Comm. in Dion. Per.* p. 312.

³ Torr. *Rhodes*, Vol. II. p. 72.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 73f.

of Archbishop of Rhodes and of Colossæ, while the Orthodox Hierarch was to be named Metropolitan of the Greeks of Rhodes. At the same time the Metropolitan would not be appointed from Constantinople, but by the Grand Master, who had to select him from the list of three Orthodox priests submitted to him by the Greeks. After that, the selected person had to be consecrated by the Greeks in accordance with their rite and to give an oath of fealty to St. Peter and the Holy Roman Church, and to the Latin Archbishop, who had to receive this oath. This concordat constituted a virtual union between the Greek Rhodian Church and the Latin, and it continued until the fall of Rhodes to the Turks.

In our days there is no Latin bishop in the Dodecanese. There remain only a few Catholic families at Rhodes.

The Greek Orthodox hierarchy alone remains in the islands now.

The highest ecclesiastical authority at Rhodes, though still holding the title of Metropolitan of Rhodes and of all the Cyclades (islands), has in his diocese only the islands of Symi, Chalki, Telos and Nisyros. The other islands of the Dodecanese, except Patmos, are under three Metropolitans, dependent on the Patriarchate of Constantinople, like that of Rhodes, and are divided thus : Cos having one, Calymnos, Leros and Astypalaia having another, and Carpathos and Casos the third. Patmos is under the immediate control of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, but the consecration of its priests falls usually to the Metropolitan of Samos.

Churches, Chapels and Monasteries. The progress of the Christian religion in the twelve islands, after the first seeds had been sown, followed fairly soon and without any striking incident.



PANORMITES HARBOUR AND MONASTERY OF ST. MICHAEL IN SYRI



[Photo by Catzaras and Zoumakis.]

THE MONASTERY OF ST. MICHAEL PANORMITES IN SYRI



[Photo by Mark C. Voyazis.]

THE MONASTERY OF ST. MICHAEL ROUCOUNIOTIS AND ITS FAMOUS PLANE-TREE IN SYRI

Obvious testimony to this advance and extension of Christianity is to be found in the great number of churches, shrines, chapels and monasteries which appeared on all sides. This struck the English crusaders when passing through Rhodes on their way to the Holy Land (1191), and Walpole,¹ who, when he visited Patmos, found it covered with 240 churches, only used on the festival days of their respective saints.

But this survival of the ancient piety of the Hellenic soul is even more pronounced in these later centuries, when a remarkable number of religious edifices has been erected, and those which were constructed in an earlier period have been improved in many ways.

Some of these Christian buildings are actually raised on the ground where ruins stood before, or are constructed from the stones of the overthrown pagan temples in the twelve islands which all followed the ritual of the Eastern Greek Church.

Amongst these venerable edifices in Cos stands the majestic *Monastery of Panaghia tou Alsous*, on the ruins of the ancient Asclepieion—a wonderful scene for the artists to depict, where the beautiful colours of a warm southern climate are combined with the grandeur of monastic architecture and piety of life.

At Symi there is the famous monastery of St. Michael, better known, owing to its proximity to the fine harbour of Panormos, as the *Monastery of Panormites*. This venerable monastery appears at first to have been founded at an early period of Christianity in the island, and to have been destroyed by the Saracens. Its reconstruction dates from the fourteenth

¹ *Memoires relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, (1817), Vol. II. p. 44. Richard Pococke, another English traveller, writing in the year 1745, states that there were 300 churches in this island (*A Description of the East and some other Countries*, Vol. II. Part II. p. 32).

century and is the subject of a charming legend and song, and its complete renovation occurred towards the end of the eighteenth century (1777-1783).¹ It is a construction of enormous dimensions, and has the appearance of a fortress when looked at from out at sea. The monastery contains upwards of 200 large and small rooms, and the church, which is celebrated and picturesque, encloses much valuable art work, amongst which is the beautiful picture of the Archangel in life-size and adorned profusely with gold and silver.

The Archangel has for a long time been venerated amongst all the Sporades, as was once Apollo, and as is Evangelistria (Our Lady of Tenos) amongst the Cyclades at the present day; therefore when the anniversary comes round, many pilgrims gather together from all directions in order to worship at this shrine, and also to participate at the religious feast.

The offerings, which are usually sent from many lands, are remarkable, and in some degree represent the deep and widespread devotion which animates the faithful towards the holy spot.

There is also another monastery in the island, that of St. Michael the Roucouniotis. This is smaller and more modern than the other, and depends directly on the Patriarch at Constantinople.

The picture in the church is likewise highly esteemed and deeply venerated, its artistic value and ornate excellence being equal to that of Panormites.

The Golden Bulls and the Turkish firmans granting privileges to the islanders were formerly kept in this religious establishment, and there is also a very old and valuable illuminated manuscript of the New Testament.

Near to that monastery stands the famous cypress

¹ D. Chaviaras : Περιγραφή ἱστορ. τῆς ἐν Σύμῃ ἱερ. Μονῆς τοῦ Πανορμ., pp. 20 ff.

tree of St. Michael, which is famous amongst these people, as is also the so-called plane tree of Hippocrates.

But the Christian shrine of supreme interest is *the historical monastery of St. John at Patmos*. The monastery rises 700 feet above the sea-level in a majestic splendour and has the appearance of a massive fortress with battlements and bastions, which dominate the scene. Its founder was Saint Christodoulos, born in Bithynia in A.D. 1021. Whilst a youth he ran away from home and entered a monastery near Brussa in Bithynia. After travels and various vicissitudes he went to a monastery of Mount Latmos near Miletos, and was nominated prior of all the monasteries of the mountain. But seeing that Mussulman pirates had wrecked these religious houses and massacred most of the inmates, Christodoulos took refuge again in a wealthy abbey on the Asiatic coast, whence he went to Cos, where he founded a monastery. But the wealth of the island was not in conformity with his ideas of an austere monastic life. Therefore he decided to approach the Emperor of Constantinople, Alexios Commenos, and ask permission to have possession of the island of Patmos, then uninhabited and full of memories relating to St. John. The emperor granted the request by a golden bull, fifteen feet long and sixteen inches wide, conceding the right to build his monastery there and to be immune for ever from all taxation (A.D. 1088).

He first sailed to the island of Cos, where, engaging fifty labourers, he took some monks and forthwith proceeded on his journey to Patmos. On landing on this island, left deserted by the Saracens' raids, he discovered that on the mountain top the old pagan temple of Artemis with the statue of this goddess was still

standing. A legend attributed the foundation of this temple to Orestes, when he took refuge in the island to escape the persecution of the Furies.

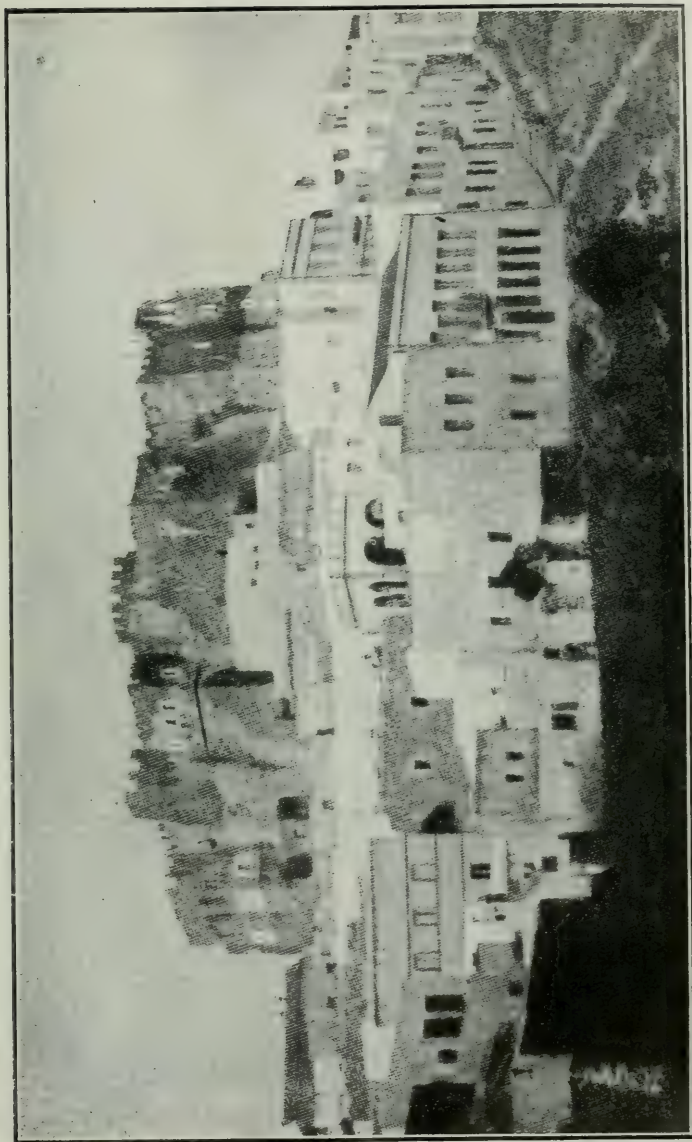
Christodoulos cast the whole structure down, and on its foundations he began to construct his monastery, which he dedicated to St. John the Divine, preferring this elevated and isolated spot, somewhat remote from the sea, because of the constant danger from the pirates.

The building of this great work was pushed forward energetically, and the strict rules which he laboured to introduce into the monastic life were put into practice. The monastery of Patmos rapidly became famous, and the emperor continued to take increasing interest in it, as is shown by the issue of a second bull granting further privileges to the monastery, and by the fact that one of the glories of this shrine, the skull of the Apostle St. Thomas, is a gift of his.

But notwithstanding all precautions, the monastery was raided by Moslem pirates, and Christodoulos fled to Euboea, where he founded another monastery and died in 1101.

The monks, fulfilling his last expressed wish, brought his body to Patmos and placed it as a relic of sanctity in the monastery. The monastery of St. John in the course of time acquired great influence and respect in the Christian world, and its books, manuscripts, bulls and relics gave it great lustre.

Furthermore, the cleverness of its priors caused it to be respected even by the Moslem corsairs, and with a view to obtaining the support of the monastery against the continual piratical raids, the Patriarch of Constantinople permitted the people of Patmos in the thirteenth century to build their houses near the monastery, and thus the vigorous rules of St. Christodoulos began to



THE MONASTERY OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST AT PATMOS

relax. It is also well known that after the fall of Constantinople (1453) and that of Crete (1669), many Christian refugees found an asylum there, and the patents issued by the Prior to the Patmian captains were likewise respected by the corsairs.

The monastery is under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Constantinople, and like the rest of the island is free from a bishop's supervision.

Outside the monastery and on the side of the hill is situated the grotto in which the Holy Theologian is believed to have seen his supernatural visions, heard the Divine voice, resounding like a trumpet, through a crevice which extends across the grotto, and wrote his immortal Revelation.

The Marquis of Bute thus describes this cavern :—¹

“ The inner side is of the solid rock. The roof, which is very irregular in height, is of solid rock likewise. In this singular spot a few silver lamps burn by day and night before a screen which conceals the altar, itself a mere niche in the rock. These lamps glimmer perpetually upon the sacred picture which occupies the centre of the screen and reaches almost from floor to roof. This picture serves for that of Our Lord. In it, on the ground beneath, the Apostle (John) is represented lying as a corpse. Above him a halo of angels and sacred emblems enshrine the figure which was like unto the Son of Man. Before the feet of that figure, resting upon earth, flame the seven lamps upon the seven golden candlesticks. At the sides the angels of the seven churches present to the eye of the Great High Priest the objects of His sacred care. His right hand holds the seven stars; His left hand grasps the keys of Hell and of Death.”

¹ Geil, *The Isle that is called Patmos*, p. 233.

CHAPTER II

CULTURE

I. *Literature*

In ancient times. The remarkable culture of ancient Greece which has been so highly praised by poets and so glowingly described by historians was not the work of Athens only nor a monopoly of any centre of continental Hellas. Many bees brought their honey to the hive. The islands and the colonies all contributed their contingent of great men towards the construction of the whole edifice.

Thus we find the twelve islands taking their part in the history of Greek culture from early times, and there is no branch of intellectual activity and no profession in which their sons have not occupied a prominent place.

The name of Homer is immortally associated with the tradition that Rhodes was the place of his birth, and this claim the traditions of the island have upheld, though six other islands and cities put him amongst their children.

The second name presented to us by history is Peisander of Cameiros, the epic poet of the seventh century B.C., to whom is attributed the poem *Heracleia*, which described the twelve labours of Heracles.

Cleoboulos of Lindos, who figured amongst the seven wise men of Greece and claimed descent from Heracles, is reported to have been a friend of Solon. It was he

who inaugurated the chelidonisma, a song of the swallow, when children went round singing :—¹

“ The swallow, the swallow has come,
Bringing good seasons and a joyous year,”

and asking donations. To him, too, are ascribed maxims (such as “ Moderation is best ”), songs and enigmas.

His native town mourned him greatly at his death, as is shown by the following elegy inscribed on his tomb :

“ Lindos, which rejoices in the sea, deploras the loss of Cleoboulos, its wise son.”

Cleoboulina, the daughter of Cleoboulos, was also distinguished in writing enigmas in hexameters, one of which is this, preserved to us by Diogenes Laertios :

“ A father had twelve children ; these twelve children had each thirty white sons and thirty black daughters ; although essentially immortal, they died nevertheless every day.” ²

From Lindos also came Antheas, a kinsman of Cleoboulos, a writer of comedies in a primitive style. Timocreon of Ialysos was living during the Persian wars and was a lyric poet with a bitterly acrimonious pen, which he even used against Themistocles, once his friend.

Simonides of Keos, however, obtained a full satisfaction in an epitaph engraved on the tomb of the gluttonous and malignant poet :

“ After much drinking and much eating, and after saying much evil of men, I rest here, Timocreon of Rhodes.”

We come now to Anaxandrides of Cameiros, who living in the fourth century B.C., and praised by Aristotle, was one of the best representatives of the middle comedy,

¹ *Athenaios*, VIII. 60.

² *i. e.* one year, twelve months, thirty days and thirty nights.

though denounced by the Empress Eudocia as an author of corrupt morality. One of his sayings is noteworthy :

“ Pleasure lies in finding some new thought to show the world : men who keep their wisdom to themselves are no judges of what it is worth.” ¹

It was before this period that the greatly gifted but ill-fated Erinna from the island of Telos was living. She only lived nineteen years, and her soul pined away because she was not permitted to follow her natural genius and the training given her by Sappho. Her mother preferred to see her attend to spinning, a useful and practical occupation, rather than let her produce those immortal thoughts which expressed in matchless verse have entranced humanity from century to century.

This incident reminds us of Madame George Sand, the great French authoress, whose aunt told her when she was young to give up scribbling and to be practical, in fact to make her “ pot au feu.” She returned from Paris later, famous, and chafed her discomfited aunt !

Erinna wrote only some 300 verses, which have been esteemed as equal to those of Homer.

At the end of the fifth century we hear of Simmias of Rhodes, a poet and grammarian, to whom is assigned the introduction of writing epigrams, corresponding by their lines to the form of the article described. The egg, the axe and the wings are examples of his art handed down to us.

Antagoras likewise was a Rhodian, and he wrote an epic entitled “ Thebaïs,” and for the small appreciation of his work shown by the Thebans, he denounced them as deserving the name of Bœotians, for they were ox-eared (*βοῶν ὠτα*). Most of his life he passed at the court of Antigonos Gonatas as a court poet.

¹ Torr, *Rhodes*, Vol. I. p. 122.

It was in Rhodes that Idaios was born, who was prolific in verse. He tried to improve the text of Homer by introducing his own lines between those of the great bard. But Rhodes, which had so frequently been the refuge of persons of distinction or of exalted birth, received also, in the Alexandrine period, Apollonios, pupil of Callimachos, and native of Naucratis or Alexandria.

When young, still a minor, he wrote at Alexandria the epic poem of "Argonautica," with disappointing results, which induced him to retire to Rhodes, where he taught philosophy and grammar whilst polishing up his "Argonautica." The Rhodians greatly esteemed and respected him and gave him full rights of citizenship, which so pleased the poet that he designated himself in his works as Rhodian. It would be out of place for us here to enter into his recorded quarrel with his master, or do more than mention the fact that the second edition of his epic was a great success and influenced later the Roman poetry.

From Cos we have some eminent poets, namely, the comic poet Epicharmos, who, a contemporary of Aristophanes, was much applauded by the Syracusans and admired by Hieron; Philetas, the elegiac poet, who lived in Alexandria during its great days; and the writer of mimes, Herondas. Theocritus was also a Coan on his mother's side, and he greatly loved the island, where he often resided. He was the most original and spirited poet of the Alexandrine period.

The Dodecanese also produced a fair number of philosophers, who were chiefly either peripatetic or stoic. Amongst the former, the most noteworthy at Rhodes are Eudemos, the pupil of Aristotle and teacher of his views, with whom the charming anecdote quoted

by A. Gellius¹ is associated; Praxiphanes, the pupil of Theophrastos and teacher of Epicouros; Hieronymos, and (in the first century B.C.) Andronicos.

A distinguished philosopher of Cos was Ariston,² the disciple and heir of Ariston, the well-known peripatetic of Alexandria. The most conspicuous was Panaitios, who was born in Rhodes about 185 B.C., and had Crates and Antipater of Tarsos as tutors, and was deeply imbued with the works of Plato and Aristotle. He went to Rome about the year 156, where he made the acquaintance of the younger Scipio (Scipio Æmilianus) and became the guest of his family, which had been the centre of all Roman pro-Hellenes and of the leading Greek visitors to Rome. He wrote a treatise on the duties of man, on which Cicero founded his work *De Officiis*. The influence of Panaitios on Roman culture and jurisprudence was considerable, and, if we compare him with Polybios, his contemporary in Rome, we find that this statesman tried to influence Greece from Rome, whilst the philosopher succeeded in influencing Rome from Hellenic culture.³

In 124 B.C. we find him as leader of the Stoa in Athens, whilst at Rhodes it was he himself who principally pushed on the Stoic movement. It is recorded that so well pleased were the Athenians with his great sagacity, that they offered him citizenship, but he answered with thanks, "A modest man" (hinting at Proelos) "should content himself with one country."

This was in imitation of Zenon, who, in fear of offending his own fellow-citizens of Kition in Cyprus, also rejected a similar gracious offer. The signal service which Panaitios did for the Stoic doctrine was that he

¹ *Att. noct.* XIII. 5.

² Strabo, XIV. 2, 23, XVII. 1, 25.

³ Holm, *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. IV. p. 493.

removed, in a masterly way, much of its fatiguing method and wordiness, also its pedantry and affectation.

A distinguished pupil of Panaitios was Poseidonios, who was born at Apameia in Syria, but as he spent almost all his adult life in Rhodes he is described as a Rhodian. He was head of the Stoa in the great city, was very public-spirited, and took part in insular affairs, for he became a Prytanis, and was sent to Rome as a Rhodian ambassador in the year 86 B.C., where he spoke before the Senate with great eloquence. His name became illustrious in Rome, so much so that when the great Pompey came to Rhodes in 67 and 62 B.C., he visited Poseidonios and showed great respect for him. On his second visit Pompey found the philosopher bedridden with gout, and expressed sorrow at finding that he could not hope to hear his argumentative eloquence. Then Poseidonios, to show his mastery over himself as a Stoic, and wishing to please his distinguished visitor, gave forth a long discourse to prove that nothing but virtue has any merit. At times the pain became intolerable, and then he would stop the flow of his eloquence and mutter "No, suffering, you will gain nothing; though you are inconvenient, I shall never admit that you are an evil."¹

Poseidonios was not only a philosopher, but also an historian, geographer and astronomer.

The most celebrated of his works was the continuation of Polybios in fifty-two books, and from an extant fragment his style seems to have been humorous and lively.

Another well-known Stoic was Leonidas. In connection with other schools of philosophy there was a

¹ Strabo, XI. 1, 6; Cicer. *Tusc. Disput.* II. 25, 61; Plutarch's *Pomp.* 42, 25 f.; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* VII. 30.

sufficient number of adherents, either born at Rhodes or foreigners who came there to teach. Such were Eucratidas, Aristippos, the pupil of Socrates and founder of the Cyrenaic school, Melanthios the Academic, etc.

Large also was the number of Rhodian historians, but their names are passed down to us without their works, except for some fragments. Here are some of their names: Antisthenes, Aristocles, Callixenos, Castor, Dionysios, Epimenides, Ergias, Evagoras, Eudoxos, Eucrates, Jason, Polyzelos, Socrates, Sosicrates, Zenon, etc. Zenon and Antisthenes found a critic in Polybios, who charges them with partial and erroneous statements in their historical writings.¹

From Leros we have the historian Pherekydes.

As geographers we may name Bacoros, Timosthenes and the famous Poseidonios.

But the Rhodians, owing to their early republican institutions, had naturally developed a capacity for eloquence, and a native rhetoric was the consequence, of which the characteristics are not known to us. Therefore when the Attic proficiency in this art was brought by Æschines to Rhodes, he found audiences awaiting him fully ready to appreciate the forcefulness and eloquence of his diction, which was destined to give Rhodian rhetoric and oratory a very high reputation, and attract to Rhodes so many illustrious men, especially Romans.

He read them the speech he had made against Ctesiphon, and they were entranced with his improvisations and declamation. He fascinated them by his telling gestures, admirably adapted to the subject, and by the elocutionary play of his voice, modulated to the theme of joy, sorrow or wrath, added to the

¹ XVI. 14-20.

flashing features of the impressive orator himself who dominated the whole scene.

The enthusiastic applause of the Rhodian people was mingled with surprise that a man who could combine such eloquence with the height of reason should have been defeated by Demosthenes. Then he uttered the speech of Demosthenes on the Crown, and his audience was enthralled. But Æschines, turning to it again, said, "Had you but heard the man himself," or as others report, "Had you but heard the beast itself, bellowing out its own words, you would not feel much astonishment."

By giving these examples of the great perfection of the brilliant Athenian rhetoric, Æschines was not long in drawing together a group of scholars, which soon formed the Rhodian school of rhetoric, and drove away the Asiatic influences from Halicarnassos and Cnidos, which had intruded and coloured the oratory of the island.

It has been truly said that "Nature gives man eloquence, but art alone can make an orator," and the Rhodians, seeking for the highest merit, looked henceforth to Athens for it, where the masterly delivery of other orators such as Hyperides was paramount.

Specimens of Rhodian oratory in its perfection may be found in the speeches delivered by Astymedes to the Roman Senate.

Later on the Rhodian school of rhetoric was affected by the influence of Apollonios Malacos and Apollonios Molon, who were from Alabanda, and disciples of the rhetorician Mnesicles, a leader of the Asiatic school.

Apollonios was first at Rhodes, about 120 B.C., Apollonios Molon following him some years after, which called forth from the former, according to

Strabo,¹ the expression "Late comer," ὀψέ μολών, instead of ἐλθών, a felicitous *jeu de mots*.

This illustrious orator was sent by the Rhodians to represent them at Rome in the years 88 and 81 B.C., and it is stated that he was the first foreigner to speak before the Senate without an interpreter, and also that it was then that Cicero heard him, and so greatly admired his faculties that he came to Rhodes in order to attend his school.

Owing to the presence of these rhetoricians at Rhodes, and the sound foundation laid by Æschines, the Rhodian school of rhetoric was brought to a full maturity towards the beginning of the first century B.C., and eager searchers for skill and reputation in this art made their way to Rhodes. It was this supremacy which drew, besides Cicero,² Julius Cæsar, Brutus, Cassius, Tiberius and others to Rhodes, and called from Tacitus the remark that "the advocacy of some Rhodian orators could gain anything for anyone."

From the names before us, and from the many teachers who came to Rhodes at this period and onwards for a time, we can conclude that Rhodes was then second to none in rhetoric.

Theodor Mommsen, the historian, in appreciating the Rhodian school, writes : ³

"It was the Rhodian school of rhetoricians which, without reverting to all the chaste severity of the Attic style, attempted to strike out a middle course between it and the modern fashion : if the Rhodian masters were not too particular as to the internal correctness of their thinking and speaking, they at least insisted on purity of language and style, on the careful selection of words and phrases,

¹ Strabo, XII. 13.

² *De Orat.* 40.

³ *History of Rome*, Vol. V. p. 455.

and the giving of thorough effect to the modulation of sentences.”

But Rhodes, which excelled so greatly in rhetoric, and not less in poetry, philosophy, history and geography, was likewise, in combination with some of her sister islands, prominent in other branches of mental activity.

A certain number of Rhodians, amongst them Poseidonios, had given attention to the firmament of the heavens, and had even suggested the possibility of the moon affecting the ocean tides.

But the Dodecanese stands forth conspicuously in early time as the birthplace of the founder of the science of medicine and the art of assuaging human sufferings, because Hippocrates saw the light at Cos, where the tutelar deity was Asclepios, and where there was a temple dedicated to him always full of sick people, with its walls covered with votive tablets containing accounts of the cures performed there.

It is supposed that Hippocrates was actively engaged on his philanthropic work about the fifth century B.C. Pliny, touching on the beginning of his labours, gives us this interesting information : ¹

“ It being the practice for persons who had recovered from a disease to describe in the Temple of that God (Asclepios) the remedies to which they had owed their restoration to health, that others might adopt the same remedies in a similar emergency, Hippocrates, it is said, copied all these prescriptions and . . . after the temple was burned to the ground, he instituted that branch of medical practice which is known as clinics. There was no limit after this to the profits derived from the practice of medicine.”

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* V. 2.

Strabo, writing of Hippocrates, calls him one of the illustrious Coans, and adds: "It is said that he learned and practised the dietetic part of medicine from the narrative of cures suspended in the celebrated temple Asclepieion."¹

His own title, confirmed by history, has been "The great Hippocrates," and the evidence of Pliny, which shows that Greece as an acknowledgment of his merit granted him the same honours as those accorded to Heracles, tells us the story of his position in the world.

Cos likewise gave birth to some other distinguished physicians, such as Erasistratos, Simos and Xenophon, the latter being the principal physician of the imperial family of Claudius, as is attested by inscriptions found in Calymnos.

Among the physicians of Rhodes we find named Aristetas, Cleomenes and Chrysippos.

The other islands, we can well presume, had likewise some features of distinction in medicine and in other walks of life, but their names are lost to us, as in the case of a certain physician of Casos, in honour of whom the Olontians of Crete issued a decree on account of help rendered by him in time of plague.² We learn this from an inscription dated two centuries B.C., and found in 1898 at Olous.

Speaking generally of medicine, we find that in the Dodecanese during ancient times two schools are renowned, those of Rhodes and Cos, that of Cos rivalling that of Cnidos,³ and both of them being famous throughout Greece.

But in the lovely native country of Hippocrates besides the historic school of medicine there were also other conspicuous educational institutions which

¹ Strabo, XIV. 19. See also Sir Clifford Allbutt's *Greek Medicine in Rome*, pp. 81 f.

² Cook, *Zeus*, p. 729.

³ See Allbutt, *ibid.* pp. 133 f.

attracted, principally during the reign of the Ptolemies, many students from various lands. Amongst the pupils who obtained a good education in the quiet and moral atmosphere of Cos were sons of the royal house of the Ptolemies, notably Ptolemy II., or Philadelphos.

It also appears that a large number of men of high position and wide culture, such as Philetas, Theocritos, etc., came here for rest and for the congenial environment of science and art.

There are also many other pursuits and studies, such as astronomy, agriculture, cooking, grammar, etc., to which the Dodecanese made contributions, but unfortunately in the course of time the names of most of the authors, as also their writings, have been lost to us.

Amongst the names of such Rhodians, however, we find those of Timachidas, Parmenon, Pythion, Epigenes, Theodotos, Aristetas, Tyrannion and Dionysios the Thracian, who emigrated to Rhodes and called himself a Rhodian, and from Cos we hear of the name of Theomnestos, a minstrel of renown.

But the branch of human enterprise in which the islanders proved themselves supreme was the maritime profession and, consequently, commerce; it was from this that their prosperity sprang, and especially the grandeur of the city of Rhodes, which was once the marvel of the world.

This prosperity, to be permanent, required sound laws based on the public interest, and civic honesty and thorough application of those statutes.

Thus Sallustius, writing to Cæsar, says that "the Rhodians never have reason to complain of their tribunals, where the rich and poor alternately sit and, according to the law, announce their decision on the greatest and smallest matters."¹

¹ *Ad Caes. de Republ.* II. p. 196, 14 f.

The citizens were the judges and were fully enlightened in regard to the laws from their school-days, for it may be noted that a special feature of the education of the Rhodian youth was a thorough instruction in civics.

The Coans also had good legislation for the popular well-being, which was a source of general admiration. Therefore when Antigonos united Lebedos with Teos, he compelled their inhabitants to adopt the Coan laws.¹

The prominent place which Rhodes occupied in the commercial world attracted the young men of other states to the island for commercial education, as the pacific policy of Rhodes drew many merchants from various lands to reside in Rhodes. This importance of Rhodes in regard to trade and her naval supremacy inspired the Rhodians to create their precise mercantile law, and also to formulate their famous maritime law, which has been considered the earliest in human history and was adopted by the Romans and the Byzantines as their guide in maritime affairs, and has constituted the foundations of the law at sea until now.

Thus we find that the Emperor Adrian laid it down that the Rhodian law was just and had authority, and that Antoninus Pius said: "I rule the land, but the law rules the sea. Let the matter be judged by the naval law of the Rhodians, in so far as any of our own laws do not conflict with that. This same judgment did Augustus give."

We read also in the writings of Constantine Harmenopoulos²:—

"All maritime affairs, all relative differences in regard to navigation are decided by the Rhodian law. It is according to it that all procedure has

¹ Rayet, *Mem. sur l'Île de Cos*, p. 79.

² *Manuale leg.* Lib. II. tit. XI. p. 157.

been established, and according to that all judgments are pronounced.”¹

Amongst the above-named laws there are two clauses of a salient character remaining to us, one of which shows that “the son was responsible for the debts of his father, even if he rejected the claim to succeed him,” and the other, regulating the apportionment among all concerned of loss occasioned by jettison of cargo in a storm, states “that if cargo be jettisoned to lighten the ship, all contribute to make good the loss incurred for the benefit of all.”

Mediæval and modern Literature. There is very little to say in respect of the literature in the twelve islands during the Middle Ages and the Turkish ascendancy till the eighteenth century.

The great schools of philosophy, rhetoric and medicine which once thrived in the islands had long since passed away, and the famous men of the past were scarcely remembered.

Nevertheless, a few names of men connected with literary culture, who were either born or resided in the Dodecanese, are known to us, and amongst these we find Philon Carpathios, to whom Suidas credits a commentary on Canticum Canticorum;² John Carpathios, who is mentioned by Photios³ as the author of an oration; the Rhodian Hieronymos Agathangelos, the interpreter of the oracles and foreseer of the fall of Constantinople to the Turks; and Emmanuel Georgillas Limenites of Rhodes, author of a poem on Justinian and Belisarios.

¹ The Greek text of the Rhodian sea law (Νόμος Ῥοδίων ναυτικός) with English translation and many notes, etc., can be found in the work of Walter Ashburner. Also worthy of note for naval students is the work of Leunclavius, *Juris græco-romani tam canonici quam civilis*: Tomi duo, 1596, at the end of which is the *Jus Navale Rhodiorum*.

² p. 1500.

³ *Bibliotheca*, pp. 163, 201.

Noteworthy are the popular songs in the islands, which express much life, soul, imagination, courage, feeling, sorrow, hope, love and energy, and a collection of which would reward the effort of gathering them as much by their contents as their dialects, which, according to Professor Dawkins,¹ are justly considered to be very interesting, and of great importance. Among these works are the well-known mediæval Rhodian love-poems.

Foreigners who wrote under the Knights in Rhodes were Caoursin, who dealt with the siege of Rhodes in the year 1480; Thomas Guichardus, who wrote a speech addressed to Pope Clement VII. (1523), in which he described some incidents of the second siege of Rhodes; Jacobus Fontanus, who also gave an account of the same siege and of the return of the Knights to Italy. Last, though not least, in our list of names we place that of the Florentine priest, Christoph. Buondelmonti, the famous writer of the work, *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* (in 1422), from which we have inserted curious but valuable extracts in some pages of this book.

During the Turkish rule. Notwithstanding the hostile attitude of the dominant power, Greek learning in all the islands continued in some degree to exist, and became more conspicuous as the Turkish influence began to decline. Generally speaking, we can say that during all the centuries under Ottoman rule many learned men appeared in all the professions, especially in the Church, because it alone granted to the enslaved Greek people a free career, and it was under its protective wings that all Greeks found themselves in union. The mere list of their distinguished names would fill many pages.

¹ In a letter to the author, published in *Greece on the Eve of Resurrection*, 1920, p. 27.

The language of the Dodecanese. The Greek spoken in the Dodecanese is in towns the same as that of Athens, whereas in the country districts dialects prevail. These have living and quite remarkable traces of venerable Greek antiquity, though in general they do not differ from the dialectical group of the archipelago (Amorgos, Chio, Crete, etc.). According to Prof. G. Chatzidakis they form a special idiom, that of the Southern Sporades¹ and of Cyprus. Time and education, however, are modifying these differences in favour of the urban idiom.

II. *Art*

In ancient times. All the remains of art, and all ancient references to its creations in the twelve islands, show through the centuries a progressive devotion of the inhabitants to the development of Beauty from its earliest demonstration in design up to the supremacy of Hellenic art.

Throughout these long centuries we see that various forms of art were produced in the islands, and divers materials were employed for the purpose, and that the immense imagination and power of the Greek genius ascended to the zenith of art, to leave the stamp and record of its perfection for all time.

The examples of this insular art, either extant or preserved for us by ancient records, show that the Dodecanese took a prominent part in that high branch of human activity, in which it was the great destiny of Greece to triumph.

The systematic excavations made in the three ancient cities of Rhodes and in their neighbourhood by scientific missions from 1860 onwards unearthed

¹ Σύντομος ιστορία τῆς ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης, p. 115.

principally objects of minor art of the utmost importance.

Amongst these there is a large number of specimens of pottery (vases, terra-cotta), as also figurines in bronze, gems (cameos and intaglios), beads, combs, scarabs, swords, spear-heads, curved knives, gold rings, etc., some of which seem to date from 1600 years or more B.C. and resemble certain oriental and also Cretan or Mycenean work, or specimens from other Greek centres.

The early rise of the conception of the Pre-Mycenean art found in Rhodes has been a subject of discussion because of the above resemblances, but the distinguished French archæologist Fouqué¹ expresses the opinion that the prentice touch visible in some of the earliest Rhodian wares, the apparent uncertainty of the hand that made them, shows that Rhodians were not schooled in the arts from foreign sources, but from the beginning felt their way to them, as was done elsewhere, till a finished native style arose.

Sir Charles Newton,² writing on the same subject, also states :

“ The rude gems of the Greek islands seem to carry us back to some remote time, before Hellenic art had any style of its own, before it was sensibly, if at all, affected by foreign influences, whether Asiatic or Egyptian, and the majority of the subjects represented on these primitive gems are such as would be taken direct from nature by an undeveloped people. In these designs, as in the similes of Homer, the lion, either alone or devouring cattle or deer, is a favourite subject ; we find, too, the wild goat with very large horns, which still inhabits Crete³ and was once general in the mountains of the archipelago.”

¹ *Vases antiques*, p. 119.

² *British Museum Catalogue*, p. 284.

³ These wild goats also still exist in Rhodes and Cyprus.

The design of the gems from Rhodes, on which are two lions, heraldically grouped with a column between them, is one conspicuous example, whilst two goats cut in rock-crystal from another. But there is little effort towards beauty in these early designs.

We have expressed the same opinion about this very early Rhodian art on another page, and it may be added that the achievements of this art, like that of the rest of Greece, whilst strongly individualistic and creative, yet combined elements from outside, the natural acquisitions of a seafaring and commercial life.

Amidst the hundreds of various local productions we find vases (*a*) revealing the characteristics of the rudimentary condition of the art, (*b*) Mycenaean, (*c*) geometric, (*d*) presenting the appearance of the transitional period, and (*e*) the highly developed later styles in the Greek vases.

In some cases the articles of minor art found in the islands strongly resemble those known to have originated elsewhere. For instance, in one tomb in the island of Rhodes, as Miss Herford¹ mentions, there were found no less than 79 Corinthian Aryballoi, 1 Kothon, 1 Corinthian amphora, 2 objects of glass and 1 of faience (rare luxuries in those days), 1 Milesian jug, 1 Milesian plate, and some modelled *alabastra*. This lavish demonstration of entombed wares shows the wealth of the deceased, and also the fact that the market of Rhodes attracted the best products of the Mediterranean peoples, which at times makes it very difficult to allocate the place from which the ceramics and other noted works of art found at Rhodes were derived.

It is therefore quite possible that some vases placed under the general name of Rhodes may in reality have

¹ *A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting*, p. 39.

originated in Mycenæ or Thera, or Athens or Corinthos, or Naucratis or Samos, etc.

The rich harvest of Mycenean vases found in the Necropolis of Ialysos now adorns the British Museum, where there are likewise many other objects of art from Cameiros or Vroulia or found strewn about the island of Rhodes.

One of the most famous in this collection is a cylix of Cameiros, in the interior of which Aphrodite is represented seated on a flying swan. This picture of the goddess is considered one of the most ideal images of antique creation left to us. Equal to it in merit is the celebrated *Cameiros* vase, on which Thetis is depicted, surprised by Peleus when bathing in the sea, which is represented by a dolphin swimming. The same subject frequently occurs on vases, but the present vase is recognised as a magnificent specimen of the polychromic style and of fine composition. We may add that of the graceful figures of the Nereids in this picture, the one flying is the most remarkable in design, and that the painter may have been contemporary with the great artist Protogenes, and may also have acquired his inspiration and skill from that master.

Of the cameo and intaglio arts we have also wonderful and undamaged specimens, most of them dated the fourth and third century B.C. The finest example of this art is believed to be the portraits of Ptolemy Philadelphos and his queen.¹

Of the scarabs, one very interesting specimen has come to us from Ialysos, representing the face of Amenophis III., who lived, as we know, about 1450 B.C.

High art. The ancient Greek architecture, which was almost always associated with religion, in its expansion

¹ S. Reinach, *Manual of History of Art* (Apollo), p. 82.

naturally reached the islands, and itself expressed there in the form of temples and public buildings, to the construction of which Rhodes and Cos owed so much of their grandeur. There was one Rhodian architect, named Deinocrates, who was greatly appreciated by Alexander the Great, and enjoyed a great reputation in his day. The operation of earthquakes with the lapse of centuries caused all these buildings to pass away, and the rare remains of ruins still found in the islands can give us no notion of those buildings as described to us by the ancients.

But in the case of sculpture the situation is somewhat different, for though much of the work recorded has been lost, or damaged by the hand of time, sufficient specimens still exist, even if they have wandered from the islands.

The first sign of sculpture in Rhodes during the earliest days is found in the legends connected with the Telchines, who, as we saw, worked in the island, and in the historic times we hear that some statues, probably of bronze, were named after them, such as Apollo Telchinios at Lindos and Hera Telchinia at Ialysos and at Cameiros. Pindar¹ also informs us that the blue-eyed Athena bestowed on the Rhodians all manner of arts, so that they surpassed all mankind by their subtlety of hand, and on the streets works arose which resembled living and moving men. These verses of Pindar give us the first knowledge of the mature school of sculpture which existed in Rhodes, and the comments of the Scholiast² on these verses are worthy of reproduction. He writes that the Rhodians were the first who made statues, and their sculptors

¹ *Olymp.* VII. 50-52. See also *Eust. Comment in Dionys. Perieg.* p. 312, (V. 504).

² *Scholia vet. in Pind. carm.* pp. 220-21.

were so excellent that they created statues like unto living beings, and thus it was that they bound the feet of these lest they should walk away, because they seemed to move and were similar to those produced by Daidalos.

But the natural impulse towards improvement which the islanders felt, as a maritime folk in contact with so many peoples across the seas, caused them to absorb the best inspirations and influences from all quarters, though principally from the Motherland. Thus it is stated that when, according to Kedrenos,¹ Cleoboulos, the tyrant, rebuilt the temple of the Lindian Athena, the statue of the goddess was raised by the pupils of Daidalos, Skylis and Dipoinos, and hewn from smaragdos.

History also tells us that the plan for the construction of the great city, Rhodes, was laid down by the Milesian architect Hippodamos, and that as Cos had a statue of Aphrodite from the hand of Praxiteles, so likewise Rhodes made Bryaxis raise her five colossal statues of the gods (350 B.C.). It was at this period that another great artist, Lysippos, much esteemed by Alexander the Great, chiselled for Rhodes one of his masterpieces, the quadriga, or chariot, with the Sun-god of the Rhodians.²

The Rhodians, devoted to their chief deity, Helios, decided to raise from the engines left to them by Demetrios Poliorketēs a statue of the Sun, to commemorate the great siege in a permanent way. Therefore they sold these emblems of carnage for 300 talents, with a view to defraying the expenses of this work of art, the execution of which was handed over to the Lindian

¹ Vol. I. p. 564, 5 f.

² Smith, S. C. K., *Greek Art and National Life*, p. 321. This quadriga, according to report, was transferred during Constantine the Great's period to Constantinople, and on its capture by the Latins was taken to Venice, where it remains.

Chares,¹ a pupil of Lysippos. He made the bronze statue of the Sun-god of enormous proportions, and was at work on it for twelve years; then he committed suicide, because of some error which he had made in the estimates, and the completion of the work was confided to Laches,² who was likewise a native of Lindos, as is witnessed by the following epigram, which was engraved on the pedestal of the famous Colossos :—

“The Lindian Laches made the Colossos in Rhodes eighty cubits high.”

Thus Chares lost both life and fame.

Pliny gives the height of the Colossos as seventy cubits (105 feet), and declares that “few men could encircle its thumb with their arms, and its fingers are larger than most statues.”

This statue, once reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world, was overthrown and broken by the great earthquake in 227 B.C., after having stood for about fifty-six years. The Rhodians appealed for aid from friendly kings to raise it up again, but when the funds were forthcoming they spent them on more “profane” purposes, and reported that an oracle forbade them to re-erect the statue; and thus it lay for over 900 years on the spot where it had fallen, as a marvel for the eyes of men.

Professor E. A. Gardner, writing on the subject of this gigantic statue, says :—³

“In making such a work as this, Chares was following largely in the footsteps of his master, Lysippos, whose colossal statue of Zeus at Tarentum was hardly less famous; it was distinguished,

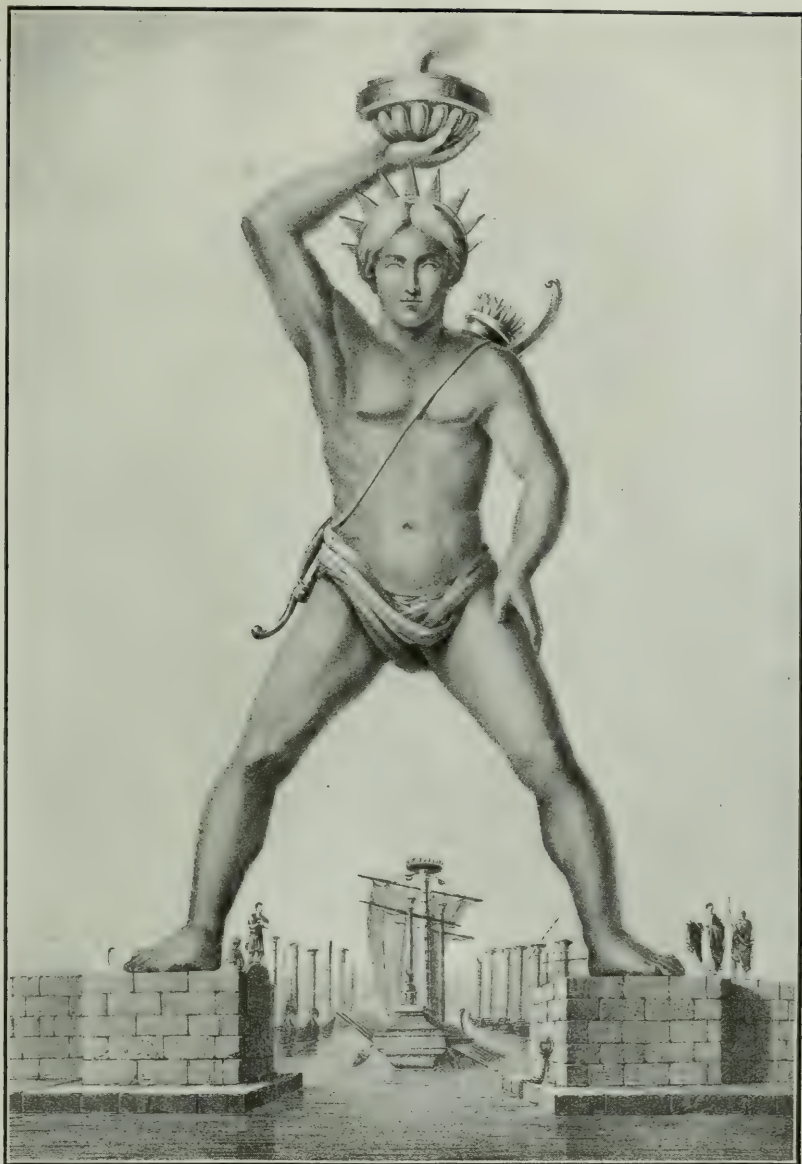
¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXIV. 18.

² See Meursius, *Creta*, etc., p. 42.

³ *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*, p. 483.

as we learn from Lucian, no less for the artistic skill of its style than for its colossal size. We have no information as to the pose of the work; it represented the Sun-god Helios, the patron of Rhodes, whose head surrounded by a crown of rays appears upon Rhodian coins; to this type we must suppose Chares to have conformed, but at the same time we must recognise that, in order to make a statue such as this Colossus, Chares must have possessed not only very high technical and mechanical skill, but also an artistic sense of a very high order; a colossal statue like this would require a treatment in every detail appropriate to the size of the work; no adequate effect would be produced by a mere enlargement of the forms that would look well in an ordinary statue. Here perhaps more than anywhere else we appreciate the dictum of Lysippos, in which he asserted that his aim was not to reproduce the exact forms of life, but their effect as seen by the spectator. The deeply and clearly cut features look coarse and unsightly when examined close at hand, but produce an admirable impression when seen from a distance. Colossal works of more moderate size were produced by Greek sculpture at every period of its existence. But in the excessive size of this Rhodian figure we may recognise a desire for mere bigness, far surpassing in size all previous statues, since to surpass them in beauty of conception or execution was impossible. Here we see the beginning of the decline, and there is little doubt that the Colossus of Rhodes, in spite of the artistic skill which it displayed, was rather a wonder to the vulgar from the difficulty of its production, than a delight to those who were capable of appreciating good work, whether on a small or on a large scale."

Where the Colossos stood in Rhodes, has for long been a subject of discussion, and the many spots



THE FAMOUS COLOSSOS OF RHODES
(In the position some writers suppose it to have occupied)

[*Rottiers.*

pointed out as its probable position have not solved the question. And this reminds us of the words of Buon-delmonti : ¹ " It is a subject about which there are as many opinions as brains, and about which nearly everybody allows himself to be guided in his judgment rather by personal sentiment than by pure reason." In any case there is no evidence that the Colossos stood across the harbour mouth, and the statement that this gigantic statue had " a large mirror on the middle of its breast, of which the brilliancy was sufficient for ships leaving Egypt to perceive it," ² remains in the character of fable.

In the same city, as Pliny informs us, there were one hundred other colossal statues, which, though smaller than the one we describe above, were nevertheless sufficient to ennoble any place, wherever erected. In addition to these there were the five colossal statues of the gods, which we have already mentioned as the work of Bryaxis.

From all these facts we see that the Rhodians had a special liking for colossal production.

There was, moreover, a forest of statues in Rhodes from the hands of skilled artists, whether native or originally from other Greek centres, and some of these were finished by the artists' sons who remained in the island to carry on their fathers' work.

We find, too, that Pliny tells us that in the great city there existed 3,000 statues, in spite of the plundering of Cassius; and at the same time we must not overlook the fact that the temple of Athena at Lindos, rebuilt in 300 B.C., held a rich collection of statuary and other artistic votive offerings.

It was from the third century to the middle of the

¹ *Lib. Ins. Arch.* XIII. p. 72.

² *Ibid.*

first century B.C. that Rhodian art became conspicuous, and it culminated at about the end of that period in the production of the two groups known as the Laocoön and the Bull, at a time when the rest of the Greek artistic world was in decay.

From the names of sculptors who lived and worked at Rhodes, and whose number has been greatly increased by the recent excavation¹ in the acropolis of Lindos, we give the following: Agathocles, Alcon, Alevas, Andragoras, Archedamos, Archedamos, Aristedes, Botrys, Diopeithes, Epicharmos, Euthykrates, Hieronymos, Lysias, Mnasitimos, Menippos, Onasiphron, Peisandros, Pheidon, Philiscos, Phylēs, Ploutarchos, Protos, Pythocritos, Simias, Simos, Sosipatros, Symenos, Teleson, Theodoros, Theon, Timagoras, Zenodotos and Zenon.

The names of some of these sculptors were found in inscriptions in some of the islands, such as Andragoras in Astypalaia and Epicharmos in Nisyros, which shows that possibly these went there and also worked there; because the art was likewise fostered in the other islands of the Dodecanese, as we gather from funeral stelas found in Symi and Nisyros, and from an inscription which states that Euxeinos made a votive offering for Telos.

The Rhodian school especially produced statues of athletes, magistrates, priests and plutocrats, and the eldest of its artists, Phyles of Halicarnassos, had created the statue of the Rhodian admiral Agathostratos, which was erected at Delos, as we saw, on behalf of the league of the islanders.

But it was probably one of these artists who lived during the first half of the second century B.C. who composed the colossal statue personifying the Roman

¹ *Quatrième Rapport*, par K. F. Kinch, p. 23.



THE LAOCOÖN

people, which had a height of thirty cubits and was placed in the temple of the Lindian Athena in 163 B.C.

It is advisable here to refer to the remarkable sculpture of the trireme in the rock at Lindos, which was probably a pedestal for a statue at one time, and was discovered during the late excavations by the Danish mission.¹

The most striking contrast in the production of Rhodian sculpture is between the Laocoön group and that of the Bull when compared with the sculpture portraits which we have described as its special style.

These groups were hewn in marble, and appear to have been somewhat influenced by the Pergamene school. The first, now in the Vatican, was the work of the Rhodians, Agesandros, Polydoros and Athenodoros, but the second, known also as the "Toro Farnese," and now in the Neapolitan Museum, was produced by the brothers Apollonios and Tauriscos from Tralles in Caria.

According to Pliny, the Laocoön was considered the greatest masterpiece in existence, and Lessing maintained that such it was; but our knowledge in later days places it amongst other Greek *chefs d'œuvre* principally for its power, tragic pathos, magnificent composition, and the agony expressed in the countenances of the father and eldest son.

There has been long and wearisome discussion as to the date when the Laocoön was produced, but it can be affirmed, according to those who have given much time and attention to this question, that probably it was created either 60 or 50 years B.C.

The Bull was composed about the same time, but the importance of this group lies in the bull itself,

¹ *Quatrième Rapport*, par K. F. Kinch, pp. 31 f.

because it is the only original part of the work, the rest having been restored. Were it not for these two famous groups of sculpture, we moderns would have but little knowledge of the real nature of the great sculpture of ancient Rhodes. We should only have inscriptions and the records of writers to rely on, and we should not be able to form an opinion of the merits of this art for ourselves.

On the other hand, the loss of the works of painting in the Dodecanese has been complete.

We have the names of great artists associated with those islands, but their works are lost to us, and their qualities we can only imagine. The nature of the material on which paintings were executed and the delicate character of the mediums and pigments employed in the work rendered them singularly liable to the process of fading or destruction.

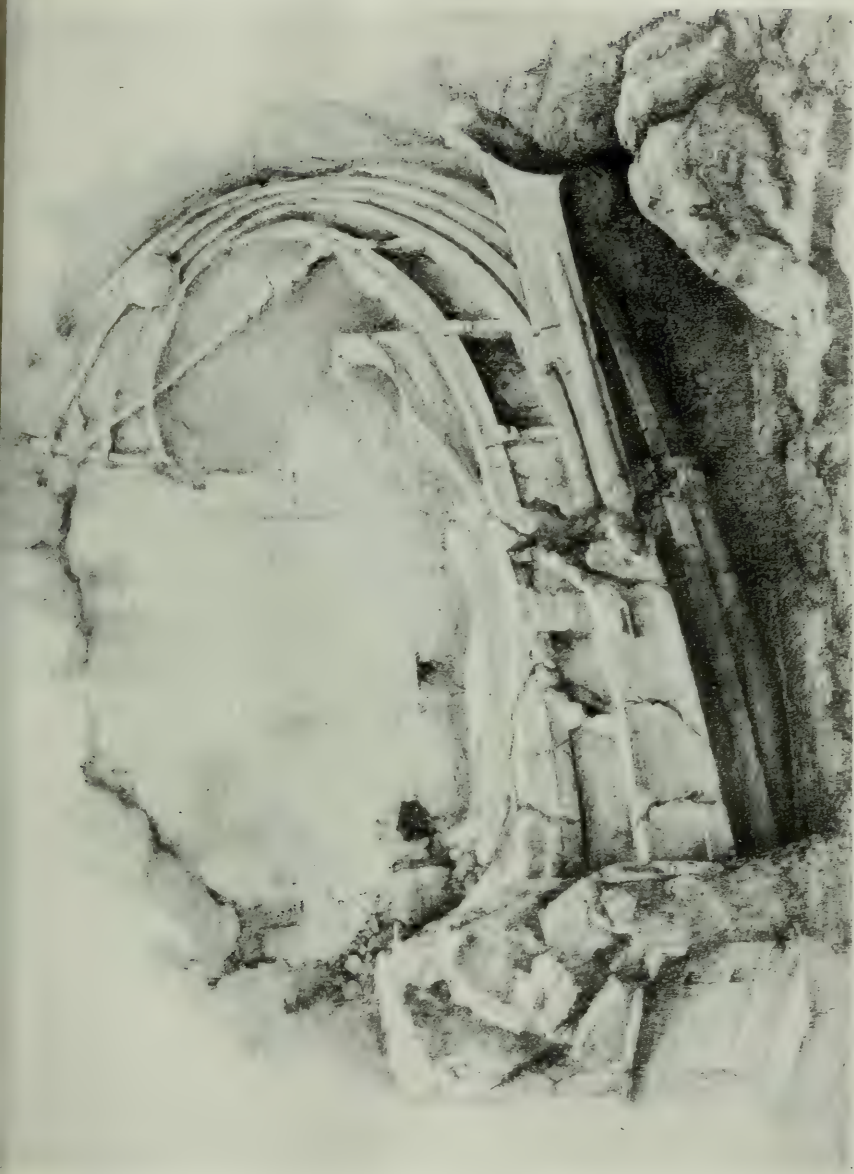
These painters of antiquity were also either Dodecanesians or residents in the islands.

Apelles, a native of Cos and contemporary of Alexander the Great, stands out before all others as the most prominent painter of antiquity and the father of high art. Pliny¹ says of him that he surpassed all the other painters who either preceded or succeeded him. Single-handed, he contributed more to painting than all the others together. The great point of artistic merit with him was his singular quality of *grace*, and this, too, though the greatest of painters were his contemporaries.

He was greatly appreciated by Alexander the Great, and it is even stated that he would have no other artist but Apelles to paint his portrait.

His greatest work was his Aphrodite Anadyomene (Venus emerging from the sea), which was in the

¹ *Hist. Nat.* XXV. 36.



THE PROW OF AN ANCIENT GREEK TRIREME CARVED IN THE ROCK AT LINDOS
(According to the drawing of the Danish Mission)



Asclepieion, where also was his Antigonos, another masterpiece.

The poets of Greece and Rome have sung of this Aphrodite throughout the ages, and all antiquity bore witness to the splendour of this noble work.

We are told that the model who sat for this picture was Pancaste, the most beloved of all the concubines of Alexander, who once commissioned Apelles to paint her nude for sheer admiration of her form. But the great painter, as Pliny¹ tells us, fell in love with her, and Alexander, discovering this, made him a present of her.

Athenaios,² however, affirms that it was the beauty of the famous courtesan, Phryne of Athens, who inspired the masterpiece. From Strabo³ and Pliny⁴ we learn that the Aphrodite Anadyomene was later taken to Rome and dedicated by Augustus to Divus Cæsar, and placed in his temple, which stood in the Forum.

It was Apelles who drew the attention of the Rhodians to the genius of the great painter Protogenes, who worked in Rhodes and had been somewhat overlooked, and whose unsold pictures had left him in poverty. He was a native of Caunos, a Carian city which was under the rule of the Rhodians.

Pliny,⁵ writing of his art, says that "of all his compositions, the palm has been awarded to his *Ialysos*," concerning which we described an incident during the siege of Rhodes by Demetrios.

We also hear of a picture of Heracles at Lindos by another famous artist, Parrasios, a more fortunate man financially than Protogenes.

Other painters connected with Rhodes are Simos and Mnasitimos, besides many who came mostly from abroad.

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXV. 24.

² XIII. 59 f.

³ XIV. 19.

⁴ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXV. 28.

⁵ *Ibid.* XXXV. 36.

The school of Rhodian high art had begun to decline after the blow struck by Cassius, but the conservative nature of the islanders prevented it from dying rapidly, and for a considerable period under the Roman emperors it still existed in the islands, and its fruits were both respected and treasured. Therefore we hear from Dion Chrysostom that when Acratos, the art agent of Nero, visited Rhodes, after stripping all Greek cities and sacred places, such as Olympia, Delphi, and the acropolis of Athens, for his imperial master, the citizens were afraid of the probable consequences of his advent. They were, however, greatly relieved in mind when they found that he only came to admire the beauty of the place, as he announced to their astonishment that he had no permission to carry off anything of artistic value.¹ There are even some who tell us that the frequent dedications of statues long standing in Rhodes to new Roman emperors or consuls or prætors were a means of precaution for saving the vast accumulation of art in the island.²

Art in the Middle Ages and modern times. During the development of the Byzantine Empire its arts reached the islands, where they were received with much appreciation by the zealous peoples, owing to their religious tendencies, and also because Byzantine art was to a considerable degree the product of Greek inspiration, so that it would not subvert their artistic traditions.

Byzantine art is revealed there by some churches and monasteries, still preserved or in ruins, in which we trace the excellent genius of the Byzantine architects and the vigorous conception and robust composition of inspired and religious Greek painters. As beautiful

¹ *Rhodiac.* p. 394.

² Mahaffy, *The Silver Age of the Greek World*, p. 278.

examples of Byzantine painting, we may point, amongst many others, to the picture in the grotto of St. John at Patmos, which depicts St. John lying dead at the Saviour's feet, and the picture of "The Last Judgment" at the Megali Panaghia tou Kastrou in Symi.

Even the pottery of the islands of Cos, Patmos and Rhodes was influenced by Byzantine art, but the ancient traditions, principally in the largest island, were largely maintained, and developed an individual style, very exquisite in colour and various in design.

This charming art expressed itself in the form of bricks, square ornate tiles, elegant dishes, plates and beautiful vases. This attractive ware, widely spread throughout the world, and accompanied by embroideries of gorgeous colouring, survived under the Knights and even during the first two centuries of the Turkish administration; it is known as Rhodian ware, or Turkish ware, as the island was under the Turkish yoke when this product became known in Europe, just as the word "Turkish" is still given to Greek sponges and tobacco.¹

In connection with the buildings of the Knights in Rhodes and the other islands, all we can say is that they are of Gothic style with some features of the Renaissance and remnants of Byzantine art transferred by the Order from the Holy Land or found on the spot.²

¹ Some writers have inaccurately stated that this Rhodian art was a Mussulman art, originating from Persia.

² See also A. Gabriel, *La Cité de Rhodes*.

CHAPTER III

COMMERCE AND COINS

I. *Trade in ancient times*

THE geographical position of the islands of the Dodecanese in the Ægean Sea naturally developed great intercourse between the islands as well as with other peoples, both Hellenic and foreign.¹

The consequence of this was to produce a steady increase of their shipping and a wide extension of the commercial spirit, and to make Rhodes the centre of this activity, even before the beginning of the Olympiads (776 B.C.). Naturally, the enormous carrying operations of Rhodian vessels² from the earliest times greatly contributed to raising the name of their marine in every part of the Mediterranean and to increasing their credits, revenue and prosperity.

But with the spread of trade, enlightenment also advanced, racial antipathies were uprooted or mitigated, savage local tyrannies were swept away, trade routes were protected against piracy and from damage in war, and the boundaries of Hellenism went as far as the Rhodian shipping penetrated, bringing civilisation and progress.

With the lapse of time and the course of trade a new system of exchange had to supplant barter, and thus money, the most powerful and secret influence in the world, asserted itself as the cementing force and

¹ Lycurgos, 14.

² Aristeid. *Rhod.* 364.

medium of exchange between the peoples; and in this work of far-reaching significance and novelty, Rhodes and her sister islands took a leading part.

The vast and diversified trade of Rhodes is well certified by the specimens found in the tombs of Rhodes. In the necropolis of Cameiros, Salzman discovered jewels of Phœnician type, figures in Egyptian earthenware, fragments of Assyrian and Cypriot sculpture, painted vases and other objects of indigenous or Ionian work.¹

On account of the great enlargement of commerce and general enterprise on both sides of the Mediterranean Sea, and the strenuous undertakings of the islanders, Rhodes, the soul of the Dodecanese, became a great centre of financial interest and a seat of banking for home and foreign business.

It was owing to this remarkable importance of Rhodes, as a focus of finance and commerce, that whenever it was shaken by war or earthquake, the stability of international commerce and finance was correspondingly shaken and paralysed.

The protracted siege of Rhodes by Demetrios, and the call for peace on the part of the neutral commercial states at that time, established this fact beyond question.

This situation was again repeated after the earthquake (227 B.C.), when the city of Rhodes was wrecked, and numerous states, as we have already seen, came to the help of the island, as they could not afford to see Rhodes ruined.

II. Coins

Ancient currency. With the expansion of trade a currency in the islands became necessary for the convenience of business, and therefore the nature of the

¹ Babelon, *Traité des Mon.* Vol. I. p. 461.

coinage of the islands during past ages is not without historical interest.

During the 6th century (B.C.) the three cities of Rhodes, as also Cos, Calymna and Poseidion in Carpathos, struck coins, mostly made of electrum.

A fig leaf is the heraldic emblem of Cameiros, a lion's head with the mouth open is that of Lindos, and a winged boar is that of Ialysos.

The building of the great city of Rhodes (407 B.C.) put an end to the mintage of these three cities.

The coins attributed to Calymna were stamped with the head of Ares, or more accurately with that of Thessalos, the son of Heracles. To the same island are also attributed the very archaic silver staters of the Babylonian standard. Silver staters were likewise struck at Poseidion, the chief city of Carpathos, but that city ceased to mint money after the foundation of the city of Rhodes. The other cities of Carpathos, as also Chalki, had their mint at Rhodes.

The early coins of Cos are of the design of the Crab, which remained the heraldic emblem of the island down to the advent of the Romans. There are also a few coins of Cos which bear a reference to the three divinities worshipped by the three tribes of this island. Thus the Hylleans were devoted to Heracles, the Dymanes to Apollo, and the Pamphylians to Demeter.

Then, for a long period, Cos did not coin any further money, for reasons unknown, and its mint was only opened again after the débâcle of Xerxes (480 B.C.) and under the consequent Athenian hegemony.

It was then that Cos struck a fine coin of agonistic design representing a youth casting the disc, which is admirably designed. This coin is considered to refer to the games played in honour of the Triopian Apollo,

in which, as we have seen, the cities of the Dorian Hexapolis (or Pentapolis) took part.

After this mintage another long interval followed without any further output of coins from Cos.

During the same period the three cities in Rhodes struck some silver coins with the "protome" of a horse, but it appears that only Ialysos continued to issue coins until the founding of the city of Rhodes.

When the great city was built, the united cities of the island of Rhodes had a very fine coinage presenting the head of the patron god of the island and of the new city, Helios, the Sun-god, in his noonday glory, with rounded face and ample locks of hair, wind-blown and suggestive of his rapid course through the heavens.¹

Head, writing about this coin, says:—²

"Of the numerous full-face coins of bold and picturesque style issued by the Rhodian mint during the greater part of the fourth century B.C., the most perfect specimen is the unrivalled gold stater in the British Museum. This is not only the most beautiful but also one of the earliest pure gold staters struck at any Greek town."

Babelon writes about the same coinage:—

"The head of the sun, almost full-face portraiture, on the first coins of the city of Rhodes, is admirable art, and one feels that the artist has wished to present *Helios* in all his radiant and powerful glory, at the moment of the full oriental noonday. His abundant undulating hair is as if moved by the sea breeze, which tempers the solar heat."³

On the reverse of the coin the united Rhodians

¹ Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 635.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Traité des Mon.* Vol. II. p. 1014.

adopted the charming design of the rose, the insular badge and local product,¹ and kept it during centuries.

Dating from this fourth century there are coins assigned to Nisyros. One of them bears the head of Helios, another the head of Poseidon, and a third the head of Zeus Ammon.

The coins of Rhodes underwent a modification after the siege of Demetrios (304) which displayed the solar rays surrounding the head of the sun.

After the building of the new capital at Cos, its mint became active again and it issued silver and bronze coins of the new standard, extensively used, and known by the Rhodians.

The designs of the bearded head of Heracles, and of the crab, continued almost without alteration down to the third century B.C., and on these coins a long succession of names of magistrates appears. But from 300–190 B.C. a noticeable change took place, the old type of Heracles being replaced by the youthful head of Heracles showing evident Lysippean influence.

The change was complete both at Rhodes and Cos about 166 B.C., after the battle of Pydna and its evil consequences for the Rhodians.

The head of Helios is now in profile instead of full-face in the Rhodian coins, though in Cos the Heracleian figure is generally dropped and replaced by Asclepios, whose cult supplanted that of Heracles, and who developed into the principal divinity of the island.

To this period the most conspicuous coin of Cos is attributed. It is a tetradrachm bearing the head of Aphrodite, the popular goddess of the island, who had been painted by Apelles and sculptured by Praxiteles for the Coans.

¹ Hill, *Hist. Gr. Coins*, p. 61.

ANCIENT COINS OF THE DODECANESE

(See Plate and pp. 395 f.)

RHODES

A—A¹ Cameiros

B—B¹ Ialysos

C—C¹ Lindos

D—D¹ Rhodes (City)

Cos

E—E¹

F—F¹

G—G¹

CALYDNA

H—H¹

I—I¹

ASTYPALAIA

POSEIDION (Carpathos)

NISYROS

J—J¹

K—K¹

L—L¹

The simple letters (A, etc.) denote the obverse of each coin, the numbered letters (A¹, etc.) the reverse.



(From the British Museum Collection)

From 88–42 B.C., *i. e.* from the days of Sulla to the capture of Rhodes by Cassius, the money struck in Cos and Rhodes was not abundant, being confined in the former island to small silver coins, and in the latter island to silver drachms and the heavy bronze pieces, apparently put into circulation as a substitute for silver before the middle of the first century B.C. Bronze coins of this time also appeared in Cos, such as those bearing the head of Nikias, who according to a brief passage of Strabo,¹ was then a tyrant in the island.

After the fatal work of Cassius in Rhodes, the Rhodian silver coinage remained for a long time in wide circulation, though it ceased to be minted, and it was gradually superseded by large bronze coins, which were in use down to the time of the Emperor Commodus.

As a proof of the plentiful existence of the Rhodian silver currency in the Levant, Mr. Hill mentions the curious fact that “out of the fifteen or twenty coins which are known to have been preserved in various Christian churches as relics of the Betrayal of Christ (‘Judas pennies’), at least eight were Rhodian coins of the fourth century B.C.”²

Of the bronze Rhodian coins, the leading feature was the head of Dionysos, radiate and unradiate, also profile heads of Helios radiate. The reverse type is usually Nikē.

There is, however, a coin of Antonius Pius whereon is the figure of Poseidon Asphaleios, the god who brings safety to ships.

Before concluding this brief survey of the islands’ ancient coinage, we may add that a few specimens of bronze coins, struck in the third, second and first centuries B.C., are assigned to Astypalaia. Coins are also

¹ Strabo, XIV. 2, 19.

² *Historical Greek Coins*, p. 62.

believed to have originated from Casos, Leros, Symi and Telos, but as this matter has not yet been determined and is still under discussion, we cannot enter into the merits of the case with any certitude.¹

Mediæval coins. With regard to the coins found in the islands and dating from the Byzantine period, those of the brothers Gabalas, being of copper, are noteworthy, and we had an opportunity to mention them. The coins derived from the days of the Knights are gold florins, gigliati, aspri and denari. The value of one florin was 10 gigliati, of one gigliato 2 aspri or 3 soldi, and of one aspre 16 denari. The gigliati, aspri and soldi were made of silver, and bore on the obverse the portrait of the Grand Master,² though the denari were of bronze and copper and generally bore a cross on the obverse.

¹ Further information about the ancient coins of the islands can be found in the exhaustive works of Head and Babelon, which we have found very useful.

² Torr, *Rhod.* II. p. 39. For more details see Schlumberger's *Numismatique*.

CHAPTER IV

ATHLETIC GAMES

As elsewhere in Greece the games were part of the life of the inhabitants and were under the protection of certain gods or heroes, so also in the islands the sports were ardently supported and had their protecting deities or heroes, and the days on which they were held were days of feasting and religious rejoicing. Such contests took place at Rhodes, for example, during the festivals of Dionysos and Tlepolemos.

But these games were not confined to each island, for the Dodecanesian peoples also participated in the games played at the Triopian Cape, and, as members of the Hellenic family, they also took part in the four great festivals of the Olympic, Pythian, Isthmian and Nemean games, which kept the racial spirit of the Greeks alive.

The games celebrated under the protection of Apollo at the Triopian Cape were horse-races and gymnastic and musical contests. The organisers of these great competitions were the cities of the Dorian hexapolis (or pentapolis), and the gains of the victors were bronze tripods, as we saw on a previous occasion. But just as the Rhodians were the most prominent of the islanders in all other matters, so again in the field of Pan-Hellenic sports Rhodes stands out.

There can be no doubt, however, that the inhabitants of the neighbouring islands gladly took their place at these competitions as athletes, and unquestionably at

times gained the crown of honour. We have a striking incident handed down to us, which affords the strongest possible argument in support of our statement, and this relates to Astypalaia. For it was from that island that a powerful competitor came, Cleomedes, who was of unrivalled strength in his day. He was the last of a distinguished list of Astypalæan athletes.

Unfortunately, in his intense fervour for success he gave way to brutality, for, boxing at Olympia with Iccos, an Epidaurian, he broke the latter's side in with a blow and, thrusting his own hand through the open wound, tore out the lungs of his opponent.¹

This called for the intervention of the umpires on account of foul play, and he was fined four talents and deprived of the fruits of his victory, which drove him mad with grief. Returning to Astypalaia in this state of mind, he went to a school in which there were about sixty children, and pulled down the pillar which supported the roof. The roof fell on the children, and he took refuge in the sanctuary of Athena from the citizens, who were bent on stoning him. There he threw himself into a chest which stood in the sanctuary and drew down the lid, and the Astypalæan people laboured in vain to open the chest. At last they broke open the woodwork of the chest, and as they did not find Cleomedes in it, either alive or dead, they sent men to Delphi to ask the oracle what had become of him.

They say that the Pythian priestess answered them thus: "Last of the heroes is Cleomedes of Astypalaia. Honour him therefore with sacrifice, since now he is no longer a mortal." Accordingly, since then, the Astypalæans pay honour to him as a hero.

¹ Pausan. VI. 9, 6-8. Plutarch's *Romul.* 28. Eusebius, *Præpar. Evang.* V. 24.

It appears that boxing was very popular amongst the islanders in those days, as it has been with the English people in later centuries, and in this art Diagoras and his offspring were very conspicuous, constituting, as it were, a dynasty of Rhodian athletes.

Diagoras was said to be descended from Heracles on the paternal side, and on the maternal side from Aristomenes. The Diagoridai (the sons and grandsons of Diagoras) were Acusilaos, Damagetos, Dorieus, Peisirrodos and Eucles.

Diagoras had great successes in the games of Greece, and throughout Greece in the local competitions,¹ and his great victory was at Olympia in 464 B.C., where he won the prize in the boxing-match. Pindar devoted his seventh Olympian ode to the celebration of this victory of Diagoras, which was sung at Ialysos, the native country of the victor and the seat of the Eratidai, from which family he sprang. A copy of the ode of Pindar was engraved in letters of gold in the temple of Athena at Lindos.

Of the sons of Diagoras, Acusilaos won the prize for boxing among the men, Damagetos for the pancration, and Dorieus, the youngest, conquered thrice at the latter competition. All these were victories at Olympia.

Olympic prizes for boxing were also won by the sons of the daughters of Diagoras. Thus Eucles, the son of Callipateira, was victorious among the men; and among the boys, Peisirrodos, whom, it is stated, his mother, Pherenike, accompanied to the Altis, in the guise of a trainer. She was discovered, and for thus defying the law which forbade women to be present at the Olympic games she would have been hurled from a certain rock;

¹ Pindar, *Olymp.* VII., 80-87.

but on her declaring that she was the daughter of Diagoras and the sister of three victors at Olympia, and that she now brought a son to contend for victory, she prevailed with the people, and the judges liberated her, but they passed at the same time a law, which thenceforth compelled all trainers to appear naked.¹

The apotheosis, the zenith of the glory of Diagoras, was when both his sons, Acusilaos and Damagetos, acclaimed conquerors at the Olympic games, bore him on their shoulders through the enthusiastic throng of people, which buried him under flowers and called him "blessed in his children."² It was then that a Spartan stepped forward and, embracing Diagoras, exclaimed, "Die, Diagoras, for thou canst not be a god."³

The great orator Cicero,⁴ reporting the same incident, makes the Spartan say, "Die, Diagoras, for thou canst not ascend into heaven," wishing to show that he could never hope to be happier than he was on that day.

Dorieus, besides his successive victories at Olympia, had gained eight triumphs at the Isthmian games, seven at the Nemean, and others without contest in the Pythian games, thus practically showing himself worthy of his father's manifold victories.

This Dorieus, with Peisirrodos, was sent into exile by the popular party of Rhodes, and with a squadron mostly of his own vessels he sided with Sparta in the Peloponnesian War (411 B.C.), which roused indignation in Athens.⁵

When he was captured (407 B.C.) by Athenian ships and brought before the public assembly at Athens,

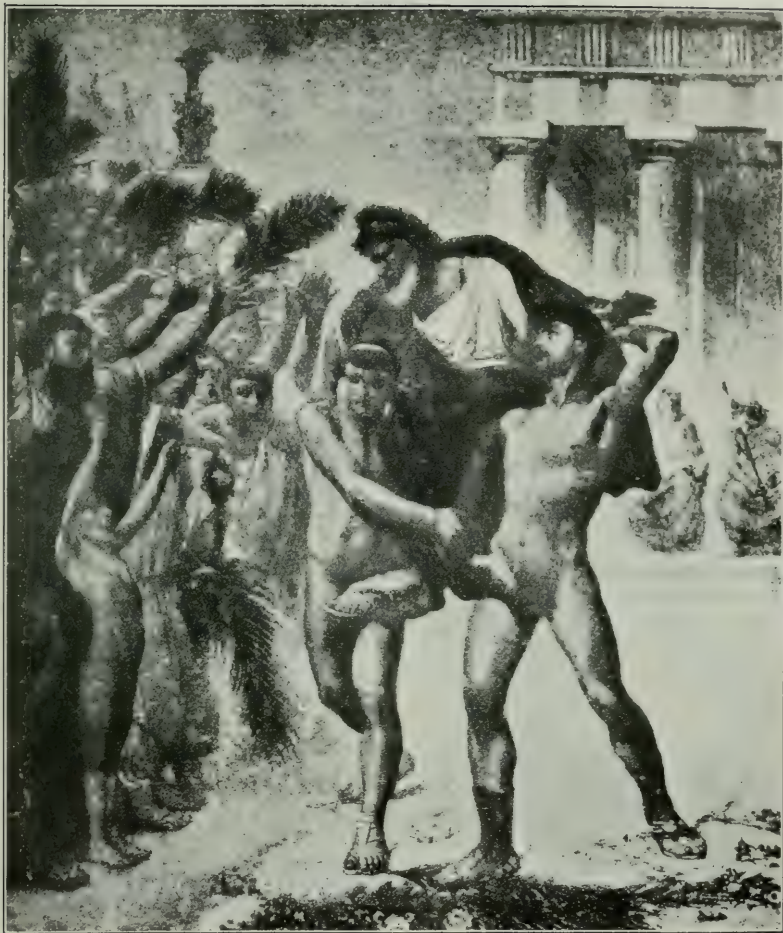
¹ Pausan. V. 6, 7, VI. 7; Ælian, *Var. Hist.* X.

² Pausan. *ibid.* A. Gellius, *Noct. Attic.* III. 15, 3.

³ Plutarch's *Pelopid.* 34.

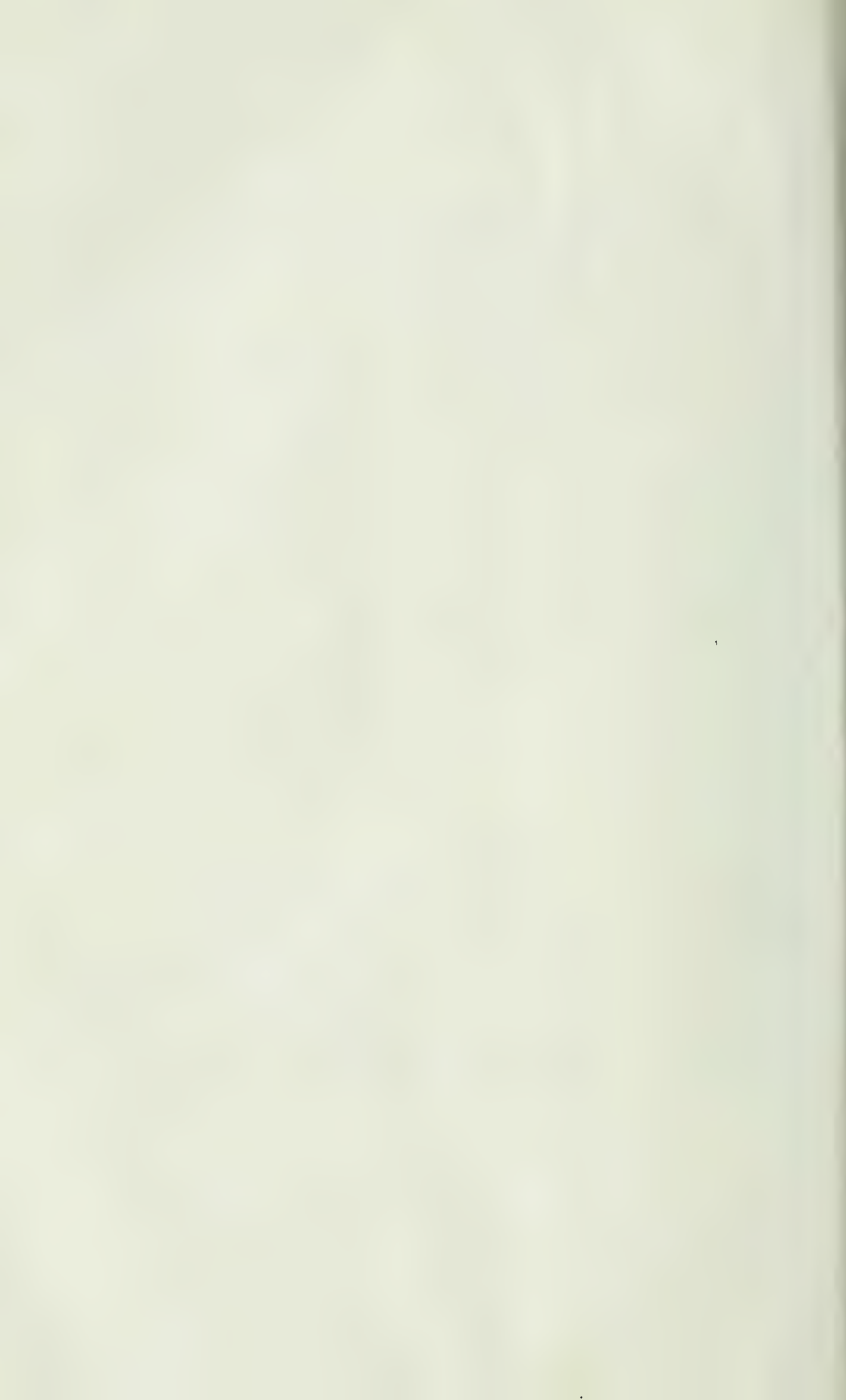
⁴ *Disput. Tuscul.* III. 1, 46.

⁵ Thucyd. VIII. 35 and 84. Diod. XIII. 38 and 45. Xenop. *Hellen.* I. 5, 19. Pausan. VI. 7.



[Zervos.]

THE TRIUMPH AT OLYMPIA OF DIAGORAS, THE GREATEST BOXER OF
ANCIENT GREECE



everyone expected that the death sentence would be passed on him; but when the Athenians saw in the guise of a prisoner so great and famous a man, their feelings towards him altered, and they let him go free without molestation, though he might have been subject to a very severe punishment.¹

Later on, Dorieus was not so magnanimously treated by his Lacedæmonian friends, for when his fellow-countrymen, persuaded by Conon, renounced their alliance with them (395 B.C.) and joined the Athenians, he was seized, whilst in Peloponnesos, and sentence of death was passed upon him for treason; this sentence was carried out.²

Bronze statues of Diagoras, Damagetos, Dorieus, and Eucles were raised at Olympia, and the base of the statue of the last, which was of black limestone, was found at Olympia in 1898, and the inscription on it confirms the statement of Pausanias that the statue was the work of Naukydes.³

The wrestlers of Rhodes were also distinguished in the Pan-Hellenic games, and Pausanias tells us that when Nicasylos was eighteen years of age, and therefore not permitted to contend in the boys' wrestling matches, he competed with the men and gained the victory. He was likewise proclaimed victor at the Isthmian and Nemean games, but his fellow-citizens had not the good fortune to welcome him with acclamation and honours on returning to Rhodes, for he died in his twentieth year, when still abroad.

In the race competitions, Leonidas of Rhodes was swift of foot as Hermes, and he was the most prominent of the runners whose names have come down

¹ Pausan. VI. 7.

² Pausan. *ibid.*; Xenop. *Hellen.* I. 5, 19.

³ VI. 6, 2.

to us from the days of the Olympic festivals. We hear that he gained twelve prizes for running during four Olympiads.

But it seems that the great devotion of the islanders to athletic sports, and their great zeal for obtaining victory, sometimes led a few of their champions into licence. Thus we hear from Pausanias¹ of two statues at Olympia, on which were inscriptions, the first announcing that the Rhodians paid a fine to Olympian Zeus, because of the knavery of their wrestler, and the second referring to a very similar case.

¹ V. 21, 8.

CHAPTER V

CHARACTERISTICS AND HABITS

It has often been pointed out that peoples devoted to maritime industries, and particularly those of insular life, develop not only strong individuality of character, but also a very robust moral sense. The sea offers the widest sphere for developing fortitude of mind, boldness of spirit, and hardihood of body, through the manifold dangers and vicissitudes associated with this boisterous element.

The inhabitants of the Dodecanese, wonderfully placed in the Ægean Sea and strongly devoted to a seafaring life, have possessed all the advantages of an insular people through the course of the ages.

Furthermore, their widespread over-sea intercourse with the peoples of other states, nationalities, tongues and industries has served to sharpen the intelligence of the islanders and to increase their strenuous energy in commerce and other activities of life, as well as to keep alive their sympathies with the love of home and of peoples homogeneous in blood, and even with those who are not racially akin to them. This has compensated for the somewhat isolated position of their islands off the Asiatic coast.

But this maritime life has likewise beneficially influenced the morals and domestic customs of the islanders. Hard-working, they nevertheless do not neglect recreation; they enjoy in healthy measure the joys of the vine, of dance and of song, and succeed

in uniting honesty, frugality, simplicity with liberal and cordial hospitality. On the other hand, the women of the islands have been distinguished for beauty, chastity and domesticity throughout all the centuries.

Hence Dion Chrysostom was not in error when he wrote that :—

“ The strong adherence to honour had caused the Rhodians to fill the earth and sea with trophies, and though the rest of Greece was in a sense eclipsed, they alone had the power to preserve the highly esteemed dignity of the whole Hellenic people till the present time.” ¹

He was also right in stating that :—

“ The Rhodians were also noteworthy and admired for their carriage, for the cut of their hair, for their general deportment when moving about the city, for their attire, and for their quiet demeanour in theatres.” ²

Again, he was not wrong when he said to the Alexandrians in praise of the Rhodian use of liberty :—

“ You know that the Rhodians, who live very near at hand, enjoy full freedom; yet they do not consider it a seemly thing to run in the city, and they remonstrate with strangers who walk at high speed. For all these things they are admired and liked by everyone.” ³

Dapper writing on the same subject ⁴ also says :—

“ These islanders were not accustomed to make much noise at their celebration of public games, spectacles or comedies, nor to testify their approbation by applause, clapping of hands, or exclamations of jubilation. On the contrary, they

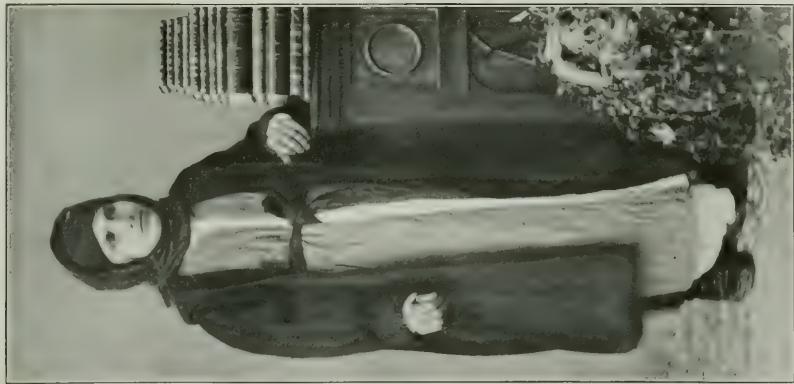
¹ *Rhodiac.* p. 310.

² *Ibid.* p. 298.

³ *Ad Alexand.* p. 418, 7.

⁴ *Descript. des Îles de l'Archipel.*, p. 145.

WOMEN OF THE DODECANESE IN LOCAL COSTUMES



CARPATIOS



TELOS



[Photos by M. Candourakis
SYMI

remained very tranquil, so that they saw and heard all that transpired. Luxury was not displayed by the opulent in Rhodes either in their attire or in the furniture or decoration of their houses, nor, again, on their tables. They were, however, lavish in their expenditure on public works, house-building and beneficent sciences.”

This made Stratonikos remark, according to Plutarch, “that the Rhodians built as if they were immortal, but ate as if they were creatures of a day.”¹

But these characteristics were not extinguished even under the oppressive weight, too often experienced, of foreign domination, as we have seen throughout the history of these islands.

Much further evidence could be produced from modern writers about this matter, but we give only a few extracts from their writings.

The French traveller, Savary, visiting the island of Casas on the very eve of the great French Revolution, eulogises with a vigorous and characteristic pen the natural hospitality, the industry, the patriarchal virtues of the islanders and the ancient Greek life still visible amongst them, and he adds:—²

“I admired the order and wisdom of this little republic, the peace and union which reigns amongst its members, and particularly that gentle happiness, that contentment which is visible on their faces. Fortunate people, I thought, ambition and intrigue do not trouble your tranquillity. The thirst of gold has not corrupted your morality; the quarrels, the dissensions, the crimes with which it fills the world are unknown to you. One does not see in your island the citizen puffed up by his titles and by his wealth, rolling his humble countrymen beneath his feet. One does not see a degraded

¹ Plutarch (*περί φιλοπλουτίας*), 5.

² *Lettres sur la Grèce*, p. 113.

valet imitating the vices of his master. Man here is equal to man; a Casiote does not blush nor bend before a Casiote. Respect and mutual esteem unites them; the pure pleasures which nature offers to all mortals are their joys; mediocrity and equality are the permanent foundations of their felicity."

Another French traveller, Sonnini,¹ who visited Symi at about the same time, writes:—

"The inhabitants of Symi are the most daring and the most experienced divers in the universe. . . . They are also very good intensive seamen, and they are robust and of a fine stature. The simple life of the islanders, the nature and the constancy of their work, have kept them away from the corrupting morals of great centres."

The Belgian Colonel Rottiers, writing of the island of Cos, says that "its women are of a special beauty, even for these islands, where the most beautiful women of this world are to be found."² These words bring to mind the appreciation of the ancients, who described the youth of this island as supreme in beauty and chastity.

For a somewhat similar view of the Dodecanesian women we have the words of the traveller, R. Walpole,³ who says with regard to Patmos:—

"In walking through the town we were much struck with the beauty of the women. A form sufficiently elegant and a black sparkling eye heightened the charm of a fair complexion, and we seemed to trace in these Grecian beauties the charms which her poets in the better days of Greece have described with so much warmth."

¹ *Voyage en Grèce et Turquie*, p. 207.

² *Descript. des monum. de Rhodes*, p. 23.

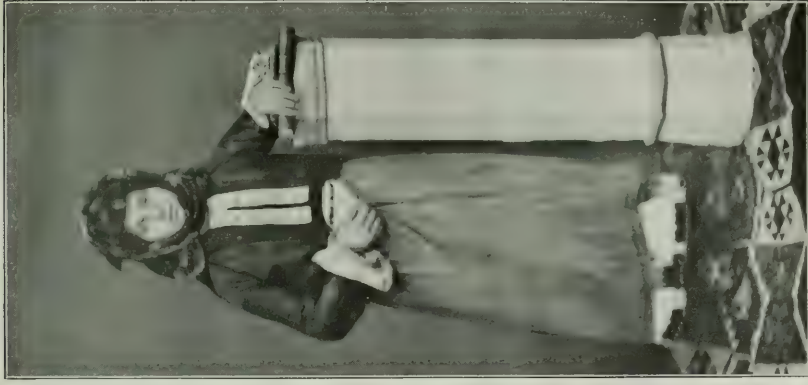
³ *Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey*, II. p. 30, 1817. See also *Times*, May 18, 1920, article entitled "The Dodecanese," from which it is evident there has been no degeneracy in the physique of the population.



A PEASANT WOMAN OF RHODES



CASTELLORIZZO



[Photos by M. Candoulias.
NISYROS



Generally speaking the women of the islands may be described as a very noble and beautiful type of womanhood, courageous and hardy, pious and church-going, lovers of cleanliness and tidiness, excellent and virtuous companions and helpmates to their husbands.

But in order to avoid the suspicion of bias in our eulogy of the character of the islanders, by choosing flattering works alone, we will now quote a few lines of a very different nature.

There is only one exception to the general good name given to these islands since the remote times of the past, and this occurs in Strabo, and relates to Leros. He quotes a certain distant Greek poet, named Phokylides, who described the Lerians in the following depreciatory words:—

“The inhabitants of Leros are bad, not some, but the whole mass of them, except Procles, though Procles is himself an inhabitant of Leros.”

This is certainly strong condemnation of one of the twelve islands, islands to whom, as to men and women, a good name “is the immediate jewel of their souls,” as Shakespeare so felicitously puts it. But it is scarcely just to judge of a people’s character on the strength of one man’s evidence alone.

An equally bad opinion then might be formed of the people of Rhodes if we were to listen to one witness such as Athenaios gives us. He writes:—

“And Stratonikos himself beholding the Rhodians dissolved in luxury, and drinking only warm drinks, said that they were ‘white Cyrenæans,’ and he called Rhodes itself the city of the suitors, thinking that they were in no respect different from the Cyrenæans in debauchery, but

only in complexion: and also because of the devotion to pleasure of the inhabitants, he compared Rhodes itself to the city of the suitors."

The allusion evidently is to the intemperance of the suitors of Penelope.

Is this to be taken as a sound judgment of the estimable people of Rhodes? Moreover, would it be right to form one's opinion of a people from the amusing phrases of any man, even of a poet or a famous philosopher? Did Voltaire speak justly when laconically saying of the sturdy Swiss people, "*Pas d'argent, pas de Suisse*," or of the worthy Dutch race on bidding it farewell, "*Adieu, canaille, canards, canaux*"?

The islanders are also praised for their studious temperament. They love to acquire knowledge, and wealthy men have applied themselves to further the instruction and enlightenment of the people by establishing schools for girls and boys in their native places. Worthy of notice amongst these are D. Petrides, N. E. Vouvalis, the Archimandrite Nikephoros Zervos, and Venetocles, who have lived in England, or in English dependencies, and witnessing the progress of their people sought to foster the same spirit in their own land.

Before ending the survey of the habits of the Dodecanesian people, we may say that it has always been industrious in its various avocations, and it has followed those activities which were naturally drawn forth by the position of the islands in the *Ægean Sea*.

Therefore, we find that the islanders have been chiefly conspicuous for navigation, sponge-fishing and commerce, but they have not neglected agriculture, and in many artistic and intellectual occupations they have won distinction and have raised their confederation to a prominent place amongst the Hellenic peoples.



CALYMNOS



ASTYPALAIA



[Photos by M. Condoumis,
CASOS



At the same time these islanders are virile and generous, energetic and hospitable, intelligent and faithful to their pledged word. They willingly enter on the duties of parental life, and they likewise consider it a sacred obligation to further the marriage of their relations. They enjoy a reputation for a peaceful disposition and law-abiding characteristics, and crimes of violence are almost unknown amongst them.

Another leading characteristic of the islanders is that they always adhered with considerable tenacity to the patriarchal ways of their ancestors. Hence ancient Greek rites and customs prevail at betrothals, marriages, festivals, dances, funerals, births and other functions, very similar to those of far-off antiquity, and very worthy of study in all their details.¹ The chief features of their old costume were the voluminous knickerbockers and well-embroidered vests and jackets.

But notwithstanding the somewhat conservative nature of the Dodecanesians at their hearth and board, the strongest love of independence and freedom is blended with the warmest social tendencies, and eagerness for new ideas and progress.

The auguries for the future are very good, and when the islanders come under the sway of a united Greek Commonwealth, there is no doubt that they will advance on the lines laid down by their forefathers. Then another Savary, visiting these islands, might immortalise them all as being as happy and flourishing as *Casos* once was found, bearing witness to the manifold blessings following their liberation from foreign rule.

¹ We have not ventured to enter further on this subject lest we trespassed too far and made the book much too long; but we propose in the near future to produce a special work on the interesting home-life, language and customs of the islanders.

APPENDIX

STATISTICS OF THE DODECANESE

THE following were the populations of the twelve islands in 1912, according to figures supplied by Jeanne Z. Stephanopoli¹ and by Charles Vellay :—²

	Hellenes.	Turks.	Jews.	Other nations.
1. Astypalaia . . .	2,000			
2. Chalki . . .	3,740			
3. Calymnos . . .	20,855			
4. Carpathos . . .	9,527			
5. Casos . . .	6,700			
6. Cos . . .	14,550	2,023 ³		
7. Leros and Lipsos . .	6,924			
8. Nisyros . . .	6,599			
9. Patmos . . .	3,700			
10. Rhodes . . .	37,777	4,854	2,445	
11. Symi . . .	19,539			
12. Telos . . .	1,850			
Total . . .	133,761	6,874	2,445	

The census taken by the Italian authorities in 1917, as published by Captain Tommaso R. Cerone in *Nel Dodecaneso*, gave the following figures :—

1. Astypalaia	1,380 inhabitants.
2. Chalki	2,200 „
3. Calymnos	14,945 „
4. Carpathos	6,932 „
5. Casos	1,855 „
6. Cos	15,075 „
7. { Leros	4,197 „
{ Lipsos	686 „
8. Nisyros	4,300 „
9. Patmos	2,664 „
10. Rhodes	36,559 „
11. Symi	7,305 „
12. Telos	2,100 „
Total	100,198 „

¹ *Les Îles de l'Égée* (1913), pp. 147, 149.

² *L'Irrédentisme Hellénique* (1913), pp. 134, 135, 137, 138.

³ Mostly Cretan Turks, a large part of whom have left the island.

The statistics as to Greek education in the islands are as follows :—

	Schools.	Masters.	Mistresses.	Boys.	Girls.
1. Astypalaia .	1	4	—	70	60
2. Chalki .	3	5	3	130	90
3. Calymnos .	11	31	9	1,100	560
4. Carpathos .	13	16	—	522	214
5. Casos .	6	10	6	265	238
6. Cos .	5	15	5	634	290
7. Leros .	7	9	7	490	300
8. Nisyros .	5	5	2	230	100
9. Patmos .	6	5	3	225	160
10. Rhodes .	55	63	28	2,350	1,096
11. Symi .	10	23	14	1,012	880
12. Telos .	2	2	—	80	58
Total .	124	188	77	7,108	4,046

Both Rhodes and Calymnos have high schools (gymnasias), and Symi has a grammar school.

It is recorded that the population of Rhodes when at its zenith was nearly half a million, and that it was a quarter of a million during the Middle Ages. To-day the population of Rhodes is only 40,365, of whom 31,715 are Greeks, 5,100 are Rhodian and Cretan Turks, 3,295 are Jews who came from Spain, and 255 belong to various other nationalities. Of these, the Jews and the Europeans are in the capital only, whilst of the Turks, 4,900 live in the capital and the remainder in villages in the neighbourhood of it.

The greatest population reached by Cos is said to have been about 150,000. The population of Carpathos is likewise reported to have once been 90,000.

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